

IRELAND'S CASE FOR FREEDOM

Written in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin,
in the Summer of 1918

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SYNOPSIS

The ancient sovereign State of Ireland, one of the primary sovereign States of Christendom, claims resumption of her sovereign independence, recognition of her *status* by the International Peace Congress, and intervention on her behalf by way of international guarantee of future respect for her independence; and submits in support of her claim the subjoined fourteen Propositions, prefaced by a brief Synopsis of them, respectively:

I. *The Irish Nation earnestly desires the International Peace Congress to be pure and impartial in its constitution and proceedings*, beyond the reach of the power and contamination of States guilty of entering into secret treaties in conflict with their public professions and with the rights and interests of peoples subject to them and of peoples subject to other States; beyond the reach of all influences save those of authentic history and justice; in order that it may inspire confidence in all nations, small as well as great, to be affected by its decisions; and that those decisions may be of a character fitting for the beginning of a new era of amity among nations and peaceful progress throughout the world.

II. *Ireland is historically entitled to independence as one of the primary sovereign States of Christendom*, never having forfeited or lost her sovereign *status* or consciously recognized sovereignty over her in any other country; always having so resisted and resisted the usurpation of foreign military force that the continual presence of an army of occupation has always been, and still is, essential to the maintenance of foreign rule; having always venerated, and still venerating as her truest patriots the purest and best of her sons who, treated by England as criminals, have, generation after generation, offered their lives in open insurrection for her freedom; still adhering to her right of sovereignty with matchless fidelity and tenacity at immeasurable sacrifice of life and property. Of all this, the presence of England's army of occupation is England's practical admission. All Irish national characteristics, especially love of freedom, are acknowledged by English legislation and English statesmen. Nor can England have acquired any right over Ireland by prescription, because (a) prescription is

a domestic principle not applicable between nations; and (b) there can be no prescription of what is unjust: *Grotius*. A further historical basis, sufficient in itself, is, that at present a vast majority of the Irish population, of every race of which it is composed, regard foreign rule as slavery, and are animated by a reasoned determination never to yield a willing allegiance to foreign rule, to destroy it at the earliest possible moment, and to continue resistance to it until Ireland's sovereign independence is re-established and secured.

III. *Ireland's constitutional right is supported by her meritorious record when independent.* The public profession of anxiety for civilization as a justification of the Great War gives special force to this claim. Ireland's unique services to civilization from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, especially during the eighth, ninth and tenth, when history shows that the services were most opportune and important, strengthen her constitutional right and constitute an additional special claim upon Europe to enable her to resume her independence. The distinctions won by Irishmen in strange lands in those early times, as shown in this Statement, were triumphs for herself and benefits to mankind as noble as ever nation achieved; and not to the Continent alone, but to England also, as acknowledged by the Venerable Bede, in marked contrast with England's subsequent treatment of Irishmen in England, and English laws against religion and civilization in Ireland. And throughout her agony of subjection and persecution Ireland has shown the permanence of that spirit and attitude by never practicing persecution and by always maintaining intimacy with the pure and noble. She has today no feeling for the peoples of other lands but reciprocal friendship, respect and a desire to co-operate with them towards increasing and securing happiness and peace amongst nations, by, as in the time of her independence, commercial and industrial as well as intellectual intercourse. All this constitutes an additional title to independence, an additional claim upon European nations, and an additional reason against leaving Ireland in subjection to the usurped power of a state guilty of the abuses of power exemplified in this Statement.

IV. *Ireland is inherently entitled to sovereign independence and international recognition.* For nation as for individual, the right of self-determination is indefeasible. Endowed with all the qualities, properties and faculties essential to a State, she is entitled to exercise them. Ireland being replete with distinct national individuality and animated with an inextinguishable desire to realize the purposes of her being, she has never learned, from morality, or constitutional law, or the course of history, any valid reason why she should not be, now as in the past, in the full enjoyment

of sovereign independence; and she confidently submits that no valid reason exists; that her natural endowments, which even England reluctantly admits in making them a pretext for persecution, are for Ireland's own purposes; and that foreign usurpation of power over her is an outrage upon her and a breach of international law, aggravated by the manner of its exercise and by the policy of defamation; that it is her duty and her interest to throw off this foreign yoke; and that in doing this she is entitled to international support. The inherent right of free intercourse with the outside world, now denied her, is also indestructible. We would ask the Peace Congress to note in connection with this proposition, that as a slanderous person is dangerous to society, so a slanderous State is dangerous to international peace, and that abuse of a country by those who are profiting by that country is suspicious.

V. *Ireland possesses adequate potential manpower to maintain sovereign independence once established.* General proof of this appears in the fact that the Irish nation still exists, in spite of the policy of extermination carried on persistently for 360 years, including, as will be found in this Statement, murder by Act of Parliament; "extermination preached by gospel;" State-created famine; sale of Irish youths into slavery in the West Indies at 25 pounds each; death of millions from famine and plague, culminating in the Great Famine in Queen Victoria's reign, and the exultation of the English press. This policy of extermination, adopted by Henry VIII, practiced by his daughters—Mary and Elizabeth, and expanded by James I, was brought to logical perfection of iniquity and the reduction of the population to one-third by Cromwell; the murderers of the people being commonly rewarded out of the property of their victims. A nation that has survived that, the severest test of a nation's manpower of which there is record, must be indestructible. And yet within forty years of the Cromwellian massacres, the nation was once more able and generous enough to make a brave fight for an undeserving king, James II. English legislation against Irish industries and trade threw the people onto the land; the Penal Laws and laws hostile to agriculture cleared them off the land again; the consequential State-created famine and plague overtook each other almost continually during the eighteenth century. The misery resulting from the Union and from hostile legislation and culpable neglect of official reports on the condition of the people perpetuated famine from 1815 till 1845. The Great Famine of 1846-7-8 was caused by carrying away the food grown by the Irish people to feed the English people, subjecting more than a million people to the most terrible of all deaths, and forcing nearly two millions into exile. Victoria, whom many of us have seen in the flesh, surpassed Cromwell in cruelty. The same policy of extermination was continued in milder but equally effective form

down to 1914, when the population of Ireland was only half what it had been seventy years before, while that of England had more than doubled in the same period. The Irish race is now estimated at 30,000,000, less than one-seventh of that number being in Ireland; a situation showing at once the fertility of the race and the necessity for freedom to enable them to live in their own country.

VI. *Ireland is apt for industries and trade as an independent State.* When independent she had her industries and trade in the measure customary at that time; manufactured her own requirements; used them with great profusion, as will be found set forth in this Statement, and exported a considerable surplus of commodities in exchange for wines and silks. Her industries and trade underwent normal growth until the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. By the end of that reign there was little of them left. Thenceforward wars and English legislation combined in hostility to Irish industries, chiefly by destroying the export trade on which they depended, a typical law, for example, peremptorily prohibiting the export of glass of Irish manufacture to any country whatever. After the Irish woolen industry had been destroyed by legislation in that spirit, and large numbers of people in the south of Ireland, thrown out of employment, the Government peremptorily forbade the founding of linen industry in the south of Ireland, although William III and the English Lords and Commons had publicly pledged "the utmost support in their power" to a linen industry in Ireland on the discontinuance of the woolen. Every manufacturing industry founded with a prospect of success was deliberately crushed, and the people reduced to the land as their sole industry; whereupon Irish agriculture was similarly thwarted. Vast areas were cleared of people and turned to grass. A situation was created leaving no use for Irish people in Ireland. The number and stringency of the hostile statutes afford the most conclusive evidence of the persistent efforts of the Irish to practice almost any industry, and England's persistent determination not to allow them. The section of this Statement dealing with this matter needs to be read throughout, because the character of the legislation was such as would otherwise be incredible. Such statutes are not now necessary; they did their work too well. Their unspent force and unbroken pursuance of the policy make their effect permanent as if enacted yesterday. Independence alone can ever open industries and trade for the Irish people in Ireland as they are open to free peoples.

VII. *Ireland is financially able to discharge the duties of an independent State.* England affords proof of this which even she cannot attempt to refute, by the amount of money she has abstracted from Ireland; and the prospect of abstracting more is one of her

reasons for retaining control as long as she can. A country from which England has, on the findings of her own financial experts, abstracted, from the year 1800 to 1914, 400,000,000 pounds in excessive taxes, in addition to what the government of Ireland cost in that time, possesses natural wealth which many an independent State might envy. A country from which Englishmen resident in England abstracted through the various public and private channels during the nineteenth century 1,300,000,000 pounds, without any return whatever, is represented by English statesmen and press as poor. If she be poor and England rich, there can be no doubt as to the cause. There may possibly be doubt whether the system of government should be regarded as an imperial license to plunder, or as a new species of fine art. We ask the Peace Congress to note that the same English government which alleges that this country is poor is at the present time extracting from Ireland an annual tax revenue at the rate of 40,000,000 pounds, spending less than 13,000,000 pounds on the government and defense of Ireland, and appropriating to itself, without our consent, a net profit of 27,000,000 pounds; all out of the country which it alleges to be poor. Although these facts show that Ireland has ample financial strength to discharge the duties of an independent State, they in no way weaken her claim to the common justice of restitution of the excessive charges and reparation of wanton damage inflicted upon Ireland, in accordance with international law and the practice of great States. Ireland is entitled to all that is due to her. The amount is more than England can conveniently pay. On obtaining independence and an international guarantee that it will be respected in future, Ireland is willing, for the sake of peace, to accept an immediate payment of 500,000,000 pounds to help her undo the wreckage England has wrought and recover the due commercial and industrial position of which England has deprived her.

VIII. *Ireland is fit and prepared to resume the responsibilities, internal and external, of an independent State.* A nation possessing the historical right, the special claim upon Europe, the inherent right, the manpower, the aptitude for industries and trade and the financial resources adequate for a sovereign State, is in possession of a large part of fitness for independence. What remains is chiefly organizing financial, administrative and judicial abilities and powers, which usually accompany the other possessions, but which are in our case being specially cultivated; so that we stand today adequately equipped in all those departments for independence. We, the people concerned, who would suffer if our preparations were inadequate, are confident of their efficiency for the security of life, liberty and property in Ireland, and the promotion of the country's highest interests and welfare. For obvious reasons the specific preparations and personnel cannot be disclosed here. England's

present method of counteracting us in advance is intensive practice of her permanent policy of Divide and Rule, the unity of the Irish people being the greatest permanent danger to her power in Ireland. She knows that but for her persistent and strenuous exertions the entire Irish people would have been fused together long since; that on their amalgamation English rule would no longer be tolerated, and that their harmonious amalgamation is certain as soon as her power to keep them apart is eliminated. Hence she stakes all upon her present efforts to keep the Irish divided. We look with confidence for complete amalgamation, prosperity and happiness as a result of independence, and security for its permanence. We invite the Peace Congress to rule on the merits of this simple issue.

IX. *Ireland is entitled to the right, common to nations and persons, of self-preservation against England's policy of extermination.* This elementary right is too self-evident to need argument. A nation or individual that had not the right of self-preservation had no right whatever. All other rights are embodied in that. If it were conceivable that this Peace Congress would acquiesce in a policy of extermination and destruction, it might well be said that there was no such thing as international law, because the saving of a nation from destruction would be one of the primary functions of such a law. The urgency of the need for its exercise arises from the continuance of England's policy and the imminent extinction of the Irish nation in Ireland if that continuance is tolerated. This supreme danger the nation is now determined to resist. It believes it still possesses sufficient power, but without international intervention the struggle might be long and destructive. In any event, better even rapid extinction in a worthy fight than the stealthy extinction planned by England. That is the situation.

X. *Ireland has rightly re-asserted her right in armed insurrection in 1916.* In the Great War, which, according to England, was to free the world from military government, no belligerent State on either side can, and no neutral State will desire to dispute the proposition which has been made a text for the war, and a most powerful incentive for recruiting, namely, that the benefits most certain to result from the war were the elimination of militarism as a permanent system of government, and the independence and future security of small oppressed nations. See, as a specimen, the English proclamation at Bagdad. Nationality, not imperialism, is the principle to which appeal has been made everywhere; and of all forms of bad government a foreign military government is unanimously condemned as the worst. Irish Nationalists, with all the irresistible reasons shown in this Statement to guide them, and with a foreign military despotism in actual operation over them,

could not do other than regard with scorn professions they knew to be false, and were bound to assert their right, if only to let the world see how false the professions were. They would have been unworthy of freedom if in the circumstances they had failed to render this great service to Ireland and to mankind. We proudly submit the fact of their having done so as powerful additional support of Ireland's claim, and the execution of those patriots as criminals, in flagrant breach of the international convention of The Hague, 1907, Clause c, after they had fought for their country's independence, surrendered and laid down their arms, as conclusive evidence of England's unfitness to rule Ireland. England's appeal for recruits having been successful in getting millions of men to fight and slay each other, we now ask the Peace Congress to require the States which made those professions and thereby got what they wanted, to fulfil their promises to the small nations. We ask especially that this be done in the case of England. We really want, not central countries only, but all countries, to be free from the danger of militarism; and it is clearer now than it was when the belligerents said so that an essential condition for the abolition of militarism and the durability of peace is the re-establishment of the independence of oppressed nations.

XI. *Ireland's purposes on resuming independence are those of peace and progress.* While on the one hand no right of inquisition exists to require a nation on re-entering the society of independent States to declare her intentions in advance, and on the other, any such declaration before power had been recovered would be merely academical and therefore unsatisfactory; nevertheless, we are willing, subject to those qualifications, to gratify a natural desire, and it may be to help the Peace Congress to satisfy itself on this subject. We are the more willing from the fortunate circumstance of being able to refer to our past for corroboration so strong that we actually make it one of the foundations of our claim. To emulate that past in harmony with the very different circumstances and with the greater facilities and varied interests of modern life, we hold to be a worthy ambition. We calculate that the essential work of rebuilding our State and most of its interests from the ruins, ridding ourselves of costly evils forced upon us, curing gross neglect, reviving and practicing our characteristic ideals, releasing faculties blasted by foreign rule, and fostering our domestic aptitudes, will occupy most of us for a considerable time. A private individual's outline of our probable activities will be found in the part of this Statement to which this summary refers. It has no authority save the writer's, but may be accepted as typical of current thought.

XII. *Ireland's sovereign independence is essential to the Freedom of the Seas.* That her sovereign independence is essential to

her own freedom of commerce is self-evident, and is demonstrated by the number and stringency of English laws for the destruction and prevention of Irish commerce; last illustrated by England's prohibition of the Hamburg-America line of steamships from calling at an Irish port in 1913, and by the fact that now, under direct English rule, most of Ireland's harbors are empty and have no commerce. The necessary liberty to engage in commerce is one of the most important of our objects after independence itself; because, favorably situated as we are, we look with confidence to a great commercial future for an independent Ireland, and to a considerable revenue from that source. Ireland's geographical position makes its freedom, while vital for itself, important for other countries also. A powerful State intolerant of free commerce in a country subject to it would, in favorable circumstances, be equally intolerant of any commerce but its own, and is capable of using the geographical position of Ireland, in conjunction with other strategic points in her possession, to the detriment and danger of all international commerce. The freedom of the seas would then be an idle dream. The sovereign independence of Ireland is essential to make it a reality.

XIII. *England is disqualified and unfit to rule Ireland.* This is abundantly demonstrated by every section of this Statement, as by every governmental act of England over Ireland. Unconstitutional and criminal as that record is, it is not of misgovernment we complain, but of foreign rule, whatever its character. Its bad character is only secondary evidence for us; but it is primary evidence against England. England first established her colonial parliament in Ireland; made it the most corrupt assembly that ever bore the name; made it a fit instrument for enforcing penal laws against religion and civilization and for keeping the colonists and the nation at permanent enmity; made it a classic exhibition of the futility of a subordinate parliament for any legitimate purpose; and when, under popular pressure, the parliament showed a tendency to amalgamate with the Gaelic nation, bribed it to commit suicide. In the history of the subsequent relations between the two countries, since ameliorative legislation began to be talked of, it is the uniform experience admitted by all, English as well as Irish, that the one thing that can always be predicated with certainty of any English measure for Ireland—other than a coercive measure—is that it will be bad in itself, or spoiled by its limitations, or by something hateful accompanying it, by rubbing poison into an open wound, by delay, by the manner of giving, or by some of the many ways in which it is humanly possible to spoil a measure. In not one solitary instance has this rule been departed from. In the case of any other country, this phenomenon might be attributed to unfortunate coincidence. But the calculated result of English rule evidenced in the present

deplorable condition of Ireland is an irrefutable reminder of deliberate injustice still being perpetuated by the continuing effects of that rule aided by fixed policy and administration; that England is profiting by her injustice to Ireland; that England's spirit is unchanged; and that it is only the persistence of the effects and the profits renders violently unjust measures unnecessary now. In these circumstances, to attribute England's hostility to gaucherie or coincidence, might be charitable, but would be highly fantastic. We charge her before the nations with the supreme crime of wilful destruction of a sister nation. We deny that she has any right to rule Ireland, well or ill. Both on that ground and on the character of the rule, we ask the Peace Congress to declare England disqualified and unfit to rule Ireland.

XIV. *Ireland claims recognition and intervention by the Peace Congress, restitution and reparation by England, and an international guarantee for her future security.* Every section of this Statement which shows Ireland being treated as a victim country enforces this particular claim on grounds of justice and morality as well as of international law. Several of the facts revealed make intervention incumbent under that law as a duty on civilized States. Of this character is the policy of extermination. That policy imposes on the Irish a duty of resistance even when there is no prospect of success. The indefinite continuance of such an unequal and deadly struggle is, in many respects, a most undesirable condition to allow. As it ought not to be borne by the victim nation, neither ought it to be tolerated by nations which hold that such victimization is a breach of international law and a danger to international peace. The outrage is aggravated and the danger not lessened by the plea that the victimization of one nation by another is a domestic concern of the latter with which other countries have no right to interfere. The Congress will note that England, which uses the plea, has herself frequently interfered, and indeed boasts of her interference, in precisely similar cases under other powers, insisting that the abuses were matters of international concern. Her plea therefore assumes that international law is subject to England's interests, and that the States represented in the Congress are, like England, immoral entities. International recognition of her plea would be conclusive proof that civilization was really in danger, and would make peace necessarily unstable by divorcing it from justice. On all these grounds Ireland now claims

SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE

comprising the rights and powers

Of designing, framing and establishing an Irish national constitution;

Of territorial inviolability, including islands and territorial waters as internationally recognized;

Of self-preservation by prevention of, defense against, and resistance to, economic or military hostility, war or peace, as self-preservation may demand;

Of free development of national resources by internal action, and by commerce, treaties, and relations with other States;

Of absolute control and jurisdiction over all persons, things, and rights within Ireland and its islands and territorial waters;

Of protection of her lawful citizens wherever situated; and

Of recognition of her government and her flag and the external marks of honor and respect:

and she claims partial restitution and reparation to the amount, namely, of 500,000,000 pounds, and an international guarantee for the security of her independence.

IRELAND'S CASE FOR FREEDOM

I.

The Irish Nation Earnestly Desires the International Peace Congress to Be Pure and Impartial in Its Constitution and Proceedings.

Assuming that this Peace Congress for the adjustment of differences amongst nations in the interest of future peace and progress will be constituted as its high purposes require, and will be guided by the spirit of justice, it will have conscience, competence, knowledge, and impartiality commensurate with the magnitude and complexity of its task, and therefore with every part of the task and every international dispute submitted to it and within its jurisdiction, with or without the concurrence of any party to such dispute, such party having been given due notice of the submission of the case. Fully realizing the greatness of this occasion and its vast possibilities for good, we thank God that we live to witness it when, for the first time, an international tribunal of this character assembles for purposes so worthy. Knowledge of one of the cases to be submitted to it compels us to realize also the possibility and danger of the beneficent purposes of the Congress being frustrated; an event which mankind would rightly regard as a calamity of the first magnitude.

It is commonly assumed that the Peace Congress will comprise representatives of States that have indulged for several years in physical conflict and in accusations of the basest crimes against each other. Of these States also some have been exposed as principals and some as accomplices in secret treaties conflicting with their professed purposes in the war, and even conflicting with each other; and shown by their secrecy and by their character to have been entered into without any popular sanction; and therefore that vast numbers of men have been induced to fight and slay each other on a false issue. When Governments and States stand revealed in this enormous guilt, stealthily leagued together in an immoral and unconstitutional conspiracy against the free will of their own democracies, and against the self-determination of nations for whose independence the democracies have been induced to fight; gambling in the lives and liberties of peoples they misled; deflecting in advance the proceedings of this Congress; complicating its task and treating it with contempt which the pettiest court of justice would within its own jurisdiction restrain and punish, the villification of character during the war is seen to be justified as applied to such States; and

the question arises, important for the Congress and for all to be affected by its decisions, whether the Congress will admit to its deliberations, and to the power of adjudicating within it, representatives of those States stained with the lifeblood of countless innocent men; and if they be admitted, subject to what conditions. Surely not on an equality with representatives of States and nations approaching the Congress with profound respect, clear conscience, and clean hands.

We respectfully suggest to the latter States and nations—who alone are competent to do it—to hold a preliminary session consisting of themselves exclusively, and consider and settle the composition of the Congress, and devise means of preventing the scandal and misfortune of the adjudicating function on this unique and solemn occasion being to any extent entrusted to, or exposed to the influence of, representatives of States guilty of the gravest and most dishonorable offences against mankind and against the Congress itself. Should it be pleaded in extenuation of the making of secret treaties that the practice has hitherto been general, the States in preliminary session will observe, in the first place, that that plea amounts to an admission that nations have been generally deceived by their rulers, conduct intrinsically indefensible which the Congress hopes to stop and prevent; in the second place, that indefensible secret treaties can be no excuse for other secret treaties in conflict with them and for public promises in conflict with both, as in the case of Poland, by which the lives of countless innocent men have been sacrificed on a false issue; in the third place, that the plea is a notice of intention to continue secret treaties to frustrate the labours of the Congress; and in the fourth place, that to allow the guilty States to adjudicate on those acts and on matters arising out of that conduct would be an outrage on the conscience of mankind. Whichever offence came first, it is enhanced by the second, third and fourth; and as the war in connection with which those offences have been committed is the most costly of human life in all history, the offences are proportionately great.

Friends of the Peace Congress, of its highest purposes and of its character, without which all else were vain, have a right to know the company they seek to enter; whether a State unable to justify or defend its conduct will be allowed to question the *status* and oppose the recognition and representation of a nation older than itself and guiltless; and whether adequate and effective precautions are taken to prevent any exercise of the power of undue influence and corruption permanently inherent in a powerful, wealthy, and experienced State temporarily reduced to the *status* of a party in a contest with a nation submerged by that State. Other nations may deal with other offenders, if such there be. The offender whose conduct and *status* we challenge is England, called by herself Great Britain. These and further questions of a like character would arise spontane-

ously in any event. But that would be at a stage of the proceedings too late to deal with them; and unless dealt with in advance the proceedings would be vitiated and any decision discredited. Besides, they are raised with acuteness which cannot be overlooked by the declarations of English statesmen and the press of England—one of the States exposed as conspiring in secret treaties—to the effect that England, notwithstanding her contempt of the Congress, will be represented in it and have such influence over it as will prevent Ireland—one of the primary sovereign States of Christendom—being represented in it. This project, which is England's will and purpose, would amount to supporting might and crime against right, and in the interest of might and crime pre-judging Ireland's case without hearing it. We invite the preliminary session of uncontaminated States to estimate the amount of sincerity there is in England's championship of the Liberty of Small Nations submerged and oppressed by other Powers, while herself submerging and oppressing this small nation, preventing its voice being heard outside its own borders, and plotting to exclude it from this unique Congress in which England herself expects to sit in judgment. England's assumption of power to do in advance what the Congress alone is competent to do would be presumptuous on the part of any State; but is especially so on the part of a State which has conspired against its own professions, against freedom, against justice, and against the impartial action of the Congress. Such conduct can have no other aim than to make the Congress a trap under English control, instead of an international tribunal of impartial justice. It therefore seems to amount to a further contempt of the Congress. We are bound to assume that both parts of the English Statement in question are false; in which case the making of them is a grave offence, but the executing of them would be an international crime.

The chief purposes professed by England in the war, and used successfully by her for recruiting for her armies, were "to save civilization," and "to liberate small oppressed nations." The latter purpose she could have achieved without war to the extent of the small nations oppressed by herself. If the Peace Congress should allow a State which has profited by the professions of these purposes to the extent of getting what it wanted, to deceive and continue to oppress those who trusted its profession, without suffering in *status* before the Congress, the resulting harm would not be limited to the discredit of the offending State. The power of this Congress for good would be gravely impaired, and not peace but intolerable tyranny and just resistance would ensue. Resistance is the shadow of injustice, and peace can be assured only in the degree in which injustice is eliminated. There is no rule or principle of international law necessitating the admission to an international Congress of representatives from a State which adds to previous offences that of treating the Congress and its purposes with flagrant contempt;

and still less is there any rule or principle justifying a Congress comprising such representatives excluding from its deliberations and decisions freely chosen representatives of an offending nation vitally concerned.

We condense this Statement of Ireland's case to the smallest dimensions consistent with intelligibility, holding ourselves ready to expand and explain it, or any part of it, and to furnish the Peace Congress in every way in our power with whatever further information it may desire. And here at the outset, in order to put this august Tribunal in a position to deal conclusively with the whole case, we reduce it to its elements by unequivocally impeaching English government of Ireland, historically, constitutionally, civilly and criminally. We are able and compelled by interdependent facts to sustain the charges made in this Statement on these grounds in every instance of English aggression that we submit, and in every additional instance that the Congress may judge to arise out of the case and call upon us to substantiate. Desiring that the Congress should ennoble itself in the esteem of posterity by the performance of an overdue duty to an ancient nation, to humanity, and to justice, we earnestly ask all its members, jointly and individually, to receive the representatives of Ireland and give favorable consideration to their claim for the restoration of Ireland to its ancient place in the family of sovereign States. We are willing that England be afforded an opportunity of making any defence she conceives she can make. Conscious of the righteousness of our demand, we ask that both parties, England and Ireland, be heard and treated alike, with equal impartiality in all respects; neither party being suffered to assume the attitude of judge. We ask the Congress to remember that the common phenomenon of private life, that a wrong-doer rarely forgives his victim, has its analogy on a great scale in the matters which the Congress is about to consider.

We submit for consideration by the representatives of nations not involved in the secret treaties or in the false promises, assembled in preliminary session, the following facts which appear to us to disqualify England for adjudicating in the case between herself and Ireland, each of which facts is developed in the appropriate parts of this Statement. They are all such as England herself, if she had clean hands and another State were guilty, would certainly denounce as strongly as we do:

- (1) England's frequent infidelity to treaties, of which those relating to Ireland and to Egypt are examples.
- (2) England's treaty policy of *silence* on disputed questions of maritime international law, and afterwards acting in her own interest, regardless of the law.
- (3) England's infidelity to the public professions on which she entered upon the Great War.
- (4) England's complicity in secret treaties, deceiving those fighting and

dying for her, and trafficking in the right and lives of innocent people.

- (5) England's agreement in advance with Italy to frustrate a proposal for European peace, because made by the Pope, irrespective of its merits.
- (6) England's persistent policy of exterminating the Irish by arms, by fire, and by State-produced famine.
- (7) England's wanton destruction of Irish civilization, and her treatment of religion and learning as felony.
- (8) England's persistent policy, still in vigorous operation, of defaming Irish national character.
- (9) England's permanent policy of military occupation and oppression of Ireland.
- (10) England's prevention of commercial intercourse between Ireland and other countries.
- (11) England's breach of The Hague Convention, 1907, Clause c, by executing in 1916 patriots, who, having fought for liberty, surrendered, laid down their arms, and were prisoners of war in her hands.
- (12) England, being the party accused in this case, is incompetent to adjudicate in it.

II.

Ireland is Entitled to Independence as One of the Primary Sovereign States of Christendom.

A nation once in the enjoyment of sovereign independence can lose the right of sovereignty only by its own voluntary act. Ireland has lost the independent exercise of its sovereignty, but without the consent of the nation, and therefore has not lost the right of sovereignty or its *status* as a sovereign State, and therefore has not lost the right to resume the exercise. Conquest alone confers only physical control. It cannot confer a right of sovereignty against the will of the population. All legitimate power comes from God to the people, and is vested by the people, expressly or tacitly, in rulers of their choice. There is no question here of president, prince, king, emperor, or form of government, but of power. It is not a question of persons, but of the thing, power. There is no legitimate power but from God. From God all power of jurisdiction passes to the community, and from the community to governments. There is no legitimate power from any other source or through any other channel. For the exercise of this power those upon whom it is conferred are responsible to those who confer it. Any government denying its responsibility to the governed thereby confesses its power illegitimate and unconstitutional. For any right to grow out of conquest, just cause for the aggression, physical occupation of the country, and acquiescence of the inhabitants would be essential. In the case of Ireland, the first and third of these essentials are absent, and the second was absent for three centuries and a half after the invasion.

Ireland is not called upon to prove that she gave no just cause for any of the instances of English aggression because it has never been alleged that she did.

There is no conquest apart from occupation. A country is conquered only so far as it is occupied by the supposed conqueror. Any part of such country not effectually occupied is not conquered. For three centuries and a half after the Anglo-Norman invasion no English power occupied more than a small fraction of Ireland, consisting of the Pale and a few other skirts of the country and port towns, as had previously been the case with the Danes and Norsemen a few centuries before, when they conquered England, but only made temporary settlements in Ireland. The Anglo-Norman invasion of parts of Ireland in the twelfth century was temporarily successful in some of those parts and established colonies in them. It was not, any more than the Norse, an invasion of the whole coun-

try, nor successful in all the parts invaded. Conquest, even when completed by occupation, not being a right, but an expression of power, binds only while the power is maintained. As soon as this is withdrawn or ceases, the original rights of the conquered people revive and resume their freedom of activity. A fortiori, this is the case when a conquest has been achieved by vile and illegitimate means. The right of sovereign independence is neither destroyed nor lost nor forfeited by temporary and unwilling dependence in obedience to superior force and without acquiescence beyond the submission extracted while that force is maintained. Invasion and partial conquest by military force, not followed by occupation for three centuries and a half, never acquiesced in, the invaders partially absorbed and partially repelled during that time, the extent of the English Pale reduced until in the middle of the sixteenth century it comprised only Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, of a district of only thirty miles long by twenty wide, and even within that limit the Irish language, laws and customs prevailed; that being the nature and extent of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, it was a failure and never became a conquest of the country.

The political constitution of independent Ireland was an electoral hierarchical monarchy, the election being determined by qualifications rather than birth, the sovereignty being in the people—"the men of Eirinn"—and the position of the monarch resembling that of the president of a modern republic. The whole body of free clansmen, including kings, sub-kings, and chiefs, made the laws. These were promulgated at the great Feis for the nation; at local assemblies for the local communities; and administered by the monarch, sub-kings, chiefs and brehons. The people were not subjects of king, sub-king, or chief, but his fellow clansmen; or, as it would now be expressed, his fellow citizens. The monarch was assisted and the nation served by the sub-kings, and these in turn were assisted and the local communities served by the lesser chiefs. The necessary qualifications for monarch, sub-kings and chiefs were set out in the law; and comprised efficiency in arms, a specially high standard of education, and judicial training; so that Irish kings were competent to lead their forces in battle when necessary, to administer justice in certain cases, and to patronize learning and art, some of them being themselves learned men. It is doubtful if there is any instance in history in which the political and social structure was so thoroughly democratic. The most striking element in the whole Irish polity was its elaborate and admirable system of indigenous laws, not equalled, nor approached by the native laws of any other ancient nation except Rome. At the time of the invasion Ireland happened to be, like many other countries then, temporarily bereft of a supreme monarch, and consequently of the national solidarity which had enabled it to overthrow the Danes and Norsemen in 1014.

Having lost the strong central bond, the congeries of sub-kingdoms and local communities became exposed, especially under inimical external influences backing rival claimants, to develop jealousies toward each other, to think more of local and personal than of national independence, and to fall short of the patriotism necessary for a joint national effort to preserve the country's integrity. For her own local domestic purposes, Ireland was better circumstanced in this condition than any other country would be in a like condition, owing to its homogeneity of territory, race, civilization, language, law, religion, literature, history, music, and all the elements of mutual interest and esteem. One indivisible country set apart from the rest of the world and thus endowed formed a most distinct and apparently indissoluble nation. It would be hard to name any other nation then or since enjoying so many elements of unity and harmony. So great was the binding force of all these elements common to the whole country that the local fabric, political, social, and administrative, easily held together and maintained the local institutions of the country in efficiency for three centuries and a half without any central authority to brace them together for a national effort; and this, too, though an enemy was clinging on to the skirts of the country and the port towns all the time. It was her oneness in so many respects, but especially in her unrivalled legal system, that maintained Ireland's local institutions and solidarity so long against hostility. On the other hand, paradoxical as it may appear, this condition was a cause of Ireland's fatal military weakness. While the local system worked efficiently for local purposes, the necessity for a strong central authority for national purposes was less obvious; and there grew up a fatal confidence in what seemed their unbreakable interlaced cohesion. Of all the elements that contributed to this remarkable achievement, the same excellent system of laws administered uniformly in all parts of the country by the *brehons* probably contributed most. This in itself is conclusive proof of the degree of suitability which those institutions and laws had attained, and the attachment of the people to them, and the character of the people so attached. This confiding attachment, admirable in itself, by inspiring false local security, helped with other causes to prevent the consolidation of the nation for ridding the country of the foreigner.

Settlers in the English Pale were occasionally summoned by agents direct from the government of England to assemble in conferences which they were pleased to call "*parliaments*" before that word had acquired a national meaning, to adopt resolutions drafted in England and dignified with the name of "*statutes*," such as the "*Statute of Kilkenny*," with a view to fresh aggression; and the importance of those documents has ever since been magnified by England. Their operation never extended beyond the narrow

area of the Pale; and according to the English themselves they did not operate even within that. Nevertheless, the Irish kings, princes and people became accustomed to imperfect conceptions of national duty, to dissensions fomented amongst them by English agents, and to drift instead of policy, until a stage was reached when none of the royal families of Ireland could with hope of full national support assume the sovereignty of the whole Island. That office was left derelict. The princes of Connaught and Munster attempted to revive it in 1258 in favor of O'Neill; but after a brief struggle England's policy of Divide and Rule prevailed. In default of a sufficiently strong Irish personality, the prince who was historically best entitled to succeed to the monarchy—Donal O'Neill—conceived the patriotic idea of abandoning his own claim in favor of an outsider more likely than himself to command the obedience of the other Irish princes and chiefs. With this view, he sent a considerable force to help Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, of which the grant to him of Kincardine-O'Neill made by that king of Scotland is striking testimony. O'Neill's real object was that Ireland should benefit by the prestige of Robert Bruce's victory by making his brother, Edward Bruce, King of Ireland. Edward landed at Glenarm in 1315, and, after two successful military campaigns, was solemnly crowned at a council of the principal princes and chiefs of Ireland held near Dundalk, King of Ireland in 1316, Donal O'Neill surrendering to him by deed all his rights in the sovereignty. On the 14th October, 1318, King Edward, contrary to the almost unanimous advice of the Irish chiefs, entered into a rash engagement with a large English army before the mass of his own forces had arrived, and was slain. * So ended Donal O'Neill's experiment. An address sent to the Pope is extant to show that until then at all events no right of England to rule Ireland was recognized.

A century later Ireland's historical sovereignty was asserted in the face of Europe by the representative of the very country that would rather deny it, by King Henry V of England. Finding himself refused admission to the International Council of Constance in 1415, on the ground that England was only a fragment of the German nation, and had never been recognized as a sovereign State, he boldly declared that he had conquered Ireland, one of the original sovereign States of Christendom, and was entitled as the representative of Ireland, and thus obtained admission. The pretense of conquest was at that time untrue. The fact of Henry having successfully resorted to it estops England from denying Ireland pre-existing right as a sovereign State. Meanwhile the counterforces of English aggression and disruption on one side and the quiet absorption of the colonists by Irish civilization on the other continued.

Henry VIII of England was the first English sovereign to claim sovereignty of Ireland, 1541. In doing so, he made no pretense

that a right of sovereignty had descended to him from Pope Adrian, or Henry II, or Henry V, or from anybody else. Taking advantage of internecine strife which his agents had carefully fomented, and of the consequent despondency of Irish princes and chiefs, and departing from the policy of his predecessors who had convened only parliaments of the Pale, Henry had all Irish princes and chiefs invited, with promises of titles of earls and barons, to parliaments in Dublin, together with the Anglo-Irish lords of the Pale; and because of that invitation, whether the Irish attended or not, the parliament was called an "Irish Parliament." No member was elected. They were only summoned in the King's name. Several parliaments of this kind were convened during Henry's reign. Only a small number of Irish chiefs attended, and that stealthily, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of their respective clans. The proceedings were conducted in the English language, which few of the Irish chiefs understood, Gaelic and Latin being the languages they spoke. Matters on which they were desired to vote were translated into Gaelic, a procedure obviously open to abuse. A parliament of this sort in 1541, 33 Henry VIII, was induced to declare Henry VIII King of Ireland and pledge the allegiance of Ireland to him. As some years earlier in England, so in Ireland now, the inducement for complying with the king's wishes was the prospect of getting a share of the church and abbey lands in the Pale which Henry had appropriated and was about to distribute. In this the lords of the Pale were not disappointed. They did not enjoy the lands many years, because of their failure to adopt the new religion. The principal Irish chiefs of the time had not attended those Parliaments. Those who had attended had no authority whatever from their people for the action in which they concurred. According to Irish constitutional law, without such authority their action could not bind even their local clans, still less the whole nation. But more than this, when the people heard what their chiefs had done, they, in most cases, immediately assembled, denounced, repudiated, and deposed the renegade chiefs, and elected in their stead braver and truer men. The new earls and barons on returning to their homes were spurned by their peoples; and the chiefs elected in their stead in some cases, notably in that of John O'Neill—"Sean the Proud"—maintained against all the power of England the positions conferred upon them by their clans, and had to be recognized by England as independent princes, in complete disregard of the English title-bearers. Thus Ireland's right of sovereignty was maintained unimpaired.

Even Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding the politic achievement of her father, did not at first claim to have inherited the sovereignty of Ireland. Afterward she and her English parliament apparently perceived a necessity for some constitutional foundation for their

pretensions, and accordingly invented one. The Statute II Elizabeth, c. 1., of 1569, solemnly traces Elizabeth's title to Ireland from King Gormund, son of the noble King Belin of Great Britain—two personages not known to either history or mythology. It is impossible to attribute this invention to ignorance in the age and country of Shakespeare and Bacon. If England had at that time a good title to rule Ireland, it would have been stated, and not a false one. Apparently their fiction did not help them much in the conquest of Ireland; for we read in the English State Papers of 1578 that "All the English, and for the most part with delight, even in Dublin, speak Irish and gradually are spotted in manners, habits, and conditions with Irish stains." How calamitous! There is, however, more grim reality relative to England's title in Ireland in the records of the following century. One of the counts in the indictment on which Strafford, Deputy of Charles I., was tried and executed was that he had described Ireland as a conquered country; and one of the counts in the indictment on which Charles I. was tried and executed was that he had brought soldiers from the foreign country, Ireland, to fight his own subjects. Thus was the theory of an English conquest of Ireland repudiated by England down to that date. On the other hand, the Tudor attempt at conquest was at once the first effective rally of the English to conquer Ireland, and therefore the first strong incentive to the Irish nation to make a national effort, instead of its previous local and spasmodic efforts. Resulting from it was the subsequent formidable effort of Hugh O'Neill. The battle of Kinsale in which he was defeated in 1602 marks the definite destruction of the Irish national polity. The subsequent achievements of that great soldier and statesman, Owen Roe O'Neill, were attempts at restoration; which also failed.

A new phase was reached when a Stuart king of royal Gaelic race succeeded to the crown of England in addition to that of Scotland. It was clearly within the right of the Irish, in accordance with their own system and with international law, if their circumstances rendered it desirable, to adopt such a man as their legitimate king. Constitutionally, their doing so did not involve any recognition of either England or Scotland as a kingdom dominating Ireland, any more than the accession of the Scottish king to the English throne involved domination by Scotland over England. It seems that such an idea no more entered the minds of the Irish people than when they had adopted Edward Bruce two centuries before. They never consciously acknowledged either English or Scotch supremacy. Their whole Jacobite literature, the fullest and most authentic embodiment of Irish thought on the subject, may be searched in vain for a single expression of recognition of either England or Scotland as a kingdom entitled to dominate Ireland. Not only that, but this literature champions the Stuart cause as being the cause of the Gael against the Gall (stranger); the only ag-

gressive stranger being the English. In all this the Irish may have made a grave tactical mistake, having regard to the English character. Here we are not concerned with the tactical prudence or imprudence of the course adopted, but with a nation's title according to constitutional law. From that point of view, and assuming that that law should be respected, the conduct of the Irish was not open to question. Had that law been respected, the course followed could have conferred no power upon England, nor brought evil to Ireland. However much their wisdom may be questioned, they neither violated constitutional practice, nor conferred any right over them upon either England or Scotland, nor surrendered the principle of national independence. The egotistical James I., or his English advisers in his name, apparently took a map of Ireland, marked on it places at which they imagined there ought to be towns, but in many of which there has never been town or village before or since, created at those places parliamentary boroughs, convened a parliament of the whole of Ireland, and took care that government clerks and other Englishmen should sit in the parliament for those imaginary boroughs, and that they and the pro-English of the Pale should constitute a safe majority to carry any measure the king and his English government desired. So numerous were the Englishmen eager to fill those seats, and such little regard was had for constitutional law, that in the first of James's parliaments, according to its own statement, men sat as members and voted who did not represent any constituency real or imaginary. All the Irish chiefs of note, except one, on seeing the composition of the body to which they had been invited, and in which it was the evident intention that they should have no power, withdrew at the outset, and did not attend any further parliament of James. The solitary exception was Roger O'Moore. He persisted in attending all those parliaments in the character of an Irish sentinel. He thus gained knowledge and experience which he generously placed at the service of the national cause later.

The only Irish parliaments in the modern sense fairly representative of the entire country that have ever been held were, however, held within the Stuart period and supported the Stuart king as King of Ireland against England. The first was the Confederation of Kilkenny, 1643-1648. The second was the parliament of James II., 1689, in Dublin. The Irish nation and the Pale were represented in both.

When the Stuart cause was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne and the defeat confirmed by the capitulation of Limerick, Ireland was at last conquered in the ordinary military sense. The Irish thereupon reverted to their pre-existing right which they had never forfeited. England reverted to the want of right which was her condition before the Stuarts. Queen Anne of England, though called a Stuart, never reigned as a legitimate Stuart sovereign, but

only under the parliamentary title conferred upon William the Dutchman by the Act of Settlement and inherited afterwards by the Georges and their descendants. The Irish nation was not represented in the parliament creating or conferring that title, and has never consciously recognized it as applying to Ireland, nor recognized any sovereign under it, however absolute his or her power may have been in Ireland. The only medium of expression then left to Ireland was her literature. That teems throughout the eighteenth century, as at all other times, with passionate assertions of Ireland's distinct nationality. The nation stood at that time despoiled of all its property and without arms, ruled by the colony as England's instrument with England's power; denied every right properly belonging to citizens; denied the right of education; disarmed mentally as well as physically, told from the judicial bench that the law did not acknowledge their existence and that it was only by tolerance of the colonists a Catholic could breathe in Ireland; in short, the nation was outlawed and therefore not in a position to make any national effort. "The policy of such barbarous victors, who condemn a subdued people and insult their feelings, has ever been, as much as in them lay, to destroy all vestiges of the ancient country, in religion, in polity, in laws, and in manners; to confound all territorial limits; to put up their properties to auction; to crush their princes, nobles, and pontiffs; to lay low everything which had lifted its head above the level, or which could serve to bind or rally in their distress the disbanded people under the standard of old opinion:"—*Edmund Burke*.

Take *Dean Swift's* characteristic comparison of the Catholic body with the Presbyterian body, towards which he was equally hostile: "It is agreed among naturalists that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his feet fast bound with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat, he would take no long time to determine."

Nevertheless, when the manhood of the colony, goaded by English tyranny even against themselves, and encouraged by the success of the American colonies against the same oppressor, realized the necessity for a national effort, and reconciliation with the Catholic nation as a condition of its success, and called for the emancipation of their estranged brothers, the submerged nation promptly showed its appreciation and, so far as it was allowed, and so far as the movement was for national independence, sympathized with and helped the colonists. They took much more than their proportionate share in the insurrection promoted by the colonists in 1798, as Wolfe Tone, the genius of that movement, well knew. Since then the principle of that insurrection, with its declared object of an independent Irish Republic under a green-white-and-orange flag,

has continued to be the ideal of all Irish nationalists, so unmistakably manifested that no one acquainted with Ireland doubts it. Some profess to doubt it for preconceived purposes. For such as are not acquainted with Ireland, the opinion of Lord Cornwallis—the Viceroy—in whose interest it was to deny such a fact, must be conclusive. Writing on the 12th December, 1798, to Major General Ross, he said of the Catholics: "Their dispositions are so completely alienated from the British Government, that I believe they would be tempted to join their bitterest enemies, the Protestants of Ireland, if they thought that measure would lead to a total separation of the two countries." There has never been a day in the history of the connection between the two countries when the Irish nation did not desire total separation from England with the same intensity. The Viceroys of 1829, 1848, 1867 and 1916, if their writings were available, no doubt bear similar testimony to the indestructibility of Irish national sentiment.

A partial conquest of a portion of a country; after the lapse of three centuries and a half extended by deception and fraud rather than by force; partial extermination of the inhabitants and plantation of alien colonists instead; the elevation of those colonists to, and maintenance of them in, an artificial ascendancy over the nation; the conquest never acquiesced in; always repudiated, resented, and resisted; always necessitating the maintenance of a foreign army of occupation in Ireland; that sort of unfinished and unfinishable conquest never having escaped the taint of military force, and always doomed to end with the withdrawal of that force, is never capable of extinguishing a nation's inherent and historical right to sovereign independence, and never capable of creating any new prescriptive or other sovereign right in the aggressor. No claim based upon either conquest or prescription could avail against a pre-existing right so tenaciously held.

Grotius says (*Mare Liberum*), "That the last defense of injustice is usually a claim based upon prescription or custom; that prescription is only of domestic application; that there can be no prescription between free and independent nations; and that no lapse of time can give a prescriptive right to anything unjust." Here we are content to rest Ireland's constitutional claim to sovereign independence.

III.

Ireland's Constitutional Right is Supported by Her Meritorious Record When Independent

The Peace Congress, if it should so desire, is entitled to know the general characteristics of the Irish nation while independent, as an indication of what may be expected from it when restored to independence. We the more willingly supply a summary of the information, that it is of such a character as constitutes in itself a powerful claim for the said restoration.

At the beginning of the Great War and during its progress the saving of civilization has been one of the professed objects of the *Entente Allies*. The war itself, in its sacrifice of human life and otherwise, has furnished conclusive proof of civilization being so badly in need of saving that no effort towards that end should be spared and no available help neglected. Whether war and the forces and passions let loose by war are civilizing agencies and not the reverse, has always been questioned by some, and is now doubted by many. The interests of civilization and justice, which are akin, are not limited by geographical or political boundaries, and are neither represented nor safeguarded by military or naval force. The greatest and most successful civilizers the world has known had no such forces. Civilization everywhere suffers when the heirs of a particularly high culture are reduced by armed force to an inferior position in their own country. Of this, Greece is the most familiar example. No one denies that the degradation of the Greek nation and the destruction of Greek art and literature were a calamity not only to Greece, but to Europe, perhaps to the whole world. Similarly, if in a less degree and less known, the destruction by England of the Gaelic civilization and culture, and of the Gaelic polity which nursed them and facilitated their diffusion, has been a crime against Europe as well as against Ireland. Whether the profession of solicitude for civilization as an object of the war be sincere or not, Ireland rejoices at it; believing there is sufficient spirit in Europe to compel the States to do something towards making their profession good; because that is precisely the department in which Ireland achieved her greatest distinction in the time of her independence; because she feels an impulsive desire to take part again in a work so congenial to her; and because the profession of such an object of the war renders relevant and necessitates a reminder to Europe, by way of brief *resume*, of Ireland's contribution to human progress and felicity, and of the destruction of her activities and the organs of them by England.

The most fruitful result of the omission of imperial Rome to conquer Ireland, and the most beneficial to European civilization, was that the fall of the Roman Empire, which produced a cataclysm of civilization elsewhere, had no such effect in Ireland, but contributed to a contrary effect by making Ireland a safe and congenial refuge and hospitable home for learned men driven from their own respective countries by frequent disturbances. Those refugees came, not to teach, but to learn, to avail of the hospitality, schools, lectures, and libraries in one of the few countries where these were then to be found and from which teachers issued. "No country had furnished a greater number of missionaries for Christianity—from no other motive than pure zeal and an ardent desire of communicating to foreign nations the opinions and faith of their country. The Irish were great travelers; and always gained the hearts of those whom they visited, by the extreme ease with which they conformed to their customs and way of life. This facility of manners was allied in them with an extreme love of national independence:"—Augustine Thierry, *Norman Conquest*, II., 121, 122. It was no ordinary service of this kind rendered to Europe that won from the Emperor Charlemagne a handsome present sent through the hands of a special envoy to the Irish university of Clonmacnoise on the banks of the Shannon. The father of English history, the Venerable Bede, corroborates the imperial appreciation when he says (liber III., c. 27): "The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, and also furnished them with books to read, and their teaching gratis." Good cause he had for making this acknowledgment, for his own countrymen flocked in such large numbers to several of the Irish schools that in that of Armagh alone they seem to have constituted a third of the three thousand students there, since a third of the city, called the Triansaxon, was allotted to their exclusive use. Students came from most European countries, but in smaller numbers or single individuals. Ireland was then the only country in which eminence in any department of learning conferred a legal *status* equal to that of prince or noble. But for Ireland and the living flame of learning and sanctity kept aglow in Ireland, and generously poured out over Europe from the sixth to the twelfth century, but especially during the eighth, ninth and tenth, when the Continent most needed such help, Europe might have lapsed into barbarism—a danger from which the Great War has not delivered us, but has shown us how little removed we still are from the precipice. In those centuries there were more and bigger schools in Ireland than in any continental country. Indeed a large part of Europe possessed nothing of the kind, big or little. No seat of learning then in Europe could rival the principal schools in Ireland in the number and ability of teachers, the number of pupils, or the character of the men sent forth; and there was none, except in Italy, of which an Irishman

was not founder or principal of Staff. All this is attested by the fact that Charles the Bald, having obtained an important Greek work which he wanted translated into Latin, and failing to get any man on the Continent competent to do it for him, got an Irishman to do it most satisfactorily.

Ireland's lavish contribution to the civilization of Europe was not undertaken or achieved in the modern egotistical spirit of leaving prim records for home reading, or extending trade "under the flag" with a view of imperialistic domination, but for the self-sacrificing purpose of rendering the highest service to mankind. Setting out with neither money nor property of any kind, but two leathern satchels slung over the shoulders, one of books, the other of religious articles, those wandering philosophers—"Vendors of Wisdom"—went wherever they chanced to get a trading ship to take them gratis. They scattered themselves from Iceland through the Scandinavian countries, Gaul, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Germany, Bavaria, Austria, Bulgaria; to encounter martyrdom in some countries, success and honor in others. It is quite probable that the very best of them may have been slain, leaving no recognizable trace behind. Their work and its fruit are known only to their Maker. But much is known, and the common indebtedness to Ireland which contemporary and subsequent records of some of those countries vouch, as well as the names of Irish saints and scholars commemorated in churches and schools founded by them or dedicated to their honor, constitute at once the most authentic and the most noble external evidence of the superior culture of Independent Ireland, the extraordinary abundance of talent that could, from a small nation, scatter itself over so many, and the boundless charity that impelled it to render this help so opportunely to nations to which, in the utilitarian sense, she owed nothing.

The grand procession of Irish philosophers and evangelists was maintained unbroken from the days of the Venerable Siedhail (Sedulius), the Poet of Truth, who had read Greek in Ireland in the fifth century, by such men as Saint Fursey, Abbot of Peronne; Fiacre, whose name has been familiar in France since the sixth century; Frigidian, Bishop of Lucca; Gall (Gallus), whose name is commemorated in the school he founded and the canton of Switzerland in which it is situated; Colum (Columbanus), founder of the schools of Luzueil and Bobbio; Cattal of Lismore (Cathaldus), Bishop of Tarentum; Dungal, founder of the University of Pavia in 822; Dicuil, the Geographer, John Scotus Eriugena, Arbogast, Bishop of Strasburg; Donat (Donatus), Bishop of Lecce in the seventh century; Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole in the ninth century; Fridolin of Connaught, the Wanderer, Abbot of Poitiers and Seskingen; Moengal (Marcellus) of St. Gall; the second Sedulius, of Liege and Milan; Maelbrigte (Marianus Scotus), the historian of Fulda and Meyance; Muiridach (Marianus Scotus)

Abbot of Ratisbon; Sedna (Sidonius), Archbishop of Bavaria; Fergal (Vergilius), the Apostle of Carenthia and Archbishop of Salzburg; Killian, founder of the monastery and school of Wurzburg; Gilla-na-Naomh, who labored in the same place, and more of like character than would be reasonable to name here.

Of Joannes Scotus Eriugena, the Master (ninth century), Haureau says (Vol. 1, p. 112) that he was the "first born of scholastic philosophers." "With what astonishment, nay, more, with what respect does not the grand figure of this teacher inspire us, he caused so much agitation in the Schools and in the Church. He sowed the winds and reaped the whirlwinds. He knew how to brave them. He did not leave one direct heir of his teaching; but he at least has the glory of having announced, or having preceded Bruno, Vanani, Spinoza, the boldest logicians that ever have wandered under the plane trees of the academy. . . . The appearance of such a man in such an age is, in every respect, an extraordinary phenomenon. It is as if one met some monument of art standing erect in the sands of the desert." Rousselot says (*La Philosophie dans le Moyen Age*, p. 13): "By his freedom of thought, and by the relative beauty of his soul, he imparts to his epoch a certain perfume of antiquity which distinguishes it from all others. . . . He thought like a new man while he spoke like the ancients." Heinrich Zimmer says (*The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 103): "Dungal, Johannes Scotus, Clemens, Sedulius, and Moengal are representatives of a higher culture than was to be found on the Continent of their day; to a purely Christian training and a severely simple habit of mind, they joined the highest theoretical attainments, based upon a thorough knowledge of the best standards of classical antiquity. These Irishmen had a high mission entrusted to them; and they faithfully accomplished their task."

The Irish race should be unnatural if they did not feel thrilled by the voices of those grand Irishmen calling across the ages from the many lands in which they labored, in unison with our own, that when the civilization which they sowed and nurtured is in danger and needs saving, their dear native land may be enabled to take some part in that great work by having restored to her the sovereign independence which she then enjoyed, of which they were the drifted flowers, and which she used so generously and so well. The inherent right of independence thus historically fortified constitutes such a claim for recognition as we think no other nation coming before this Peace Congress can present, and one which no State really concerned for civilization can on the merits disregard.

It must not be supposed that Ireland's energies were all expended in intellectual efforts alone. Civilization has many aspects. It was a standing rule at the monarch's palace that no stranger should be allowed to enter unless he was an ollamh (professor) of some

branch of knowledge or a master of some art or craft. The existence of such a rule, whether enforced or not; even a belief that such a rule existed, was wholesome. Significant also in a more homely way is the ancient Irish proverb of the "three slender things that best support the world, the slender stream of milk into the pail; the slender blade of green corn above the ground; the slender thread over the hand of a skilled woman." All arts, both of use and ornament, were encouraged and rewarded. In spite of all the subsequent willful and wanton destruction, we still possess from the days of Ireland's independence creditable specimens of Irish architecture, sculpture, illuminated manuscripts, and artistic metal work and woodwork, some of priceless value as well for their beauty as for their antiquity.

From the most ancient times Ireland abounded in linen and woolen cloth, all of domestic manufacture. All Irish women were brought up to spin, weave, knit and embroider. Foreign writers attest the great abundance of linen in ancient Ireland. "Ireland!" they say, "abounds in lint which the natives spin into thread and export in enormous quantities to foreign nations. In former ages they manufactured very extensively linen cloths, the greater portion of which was absorbed by the home consumption, as the natives allowed thirty or more yards for a single cloak, which was wound or tied up in folds. The sleeves also were very capacious, extending down to the knees. Need I mention the common linen covering in several wreaths on their heads, or the hoods used by others; for a woman was never seen without a veil or a hood on her head, except the unmarried, whose long ringlets were tastefully tied up in knots, or wreathed around the head and interwoven with some bright colored ribband. If to this we add the linens for the altar, the cloths for the table, the various linen robes of the priest, and the shrouds that were wrapped around the dead, there must have been a great abundance of linen in Ireland." We read of Saint Brigid that "she spun and wove with her own hands the linen cloths which were wrapped around Saint Patrick's sacred remains:" *Dr. Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus II.*, 169.

They had also an artistic sense of color and a complete system of dyeing, the secrets of which have been lost during the ages of persecution. They extracted dyes from the roots, flowers, and berries of certain native plants and herbs; and they also cultivated certain imported plants for the same purpose. Tributes were frequently paid in cloth. In suitable cases the people competed with each other in beauty of color as well as of texture. Irish rugs, blankets and quilts were highly appreciated in England and on the Continent for their downy softness and warmth, texture and color. Irish cloths were well known in continental markets from the tenth to the fourteenth century. The finer varieties were famous in trade and in song in Italy, and especially in Florence, the home of the

most artistic weavers in the world, not so much for their value as ordinary drapery, but as articles of art and luxury. They were used by royalty, aristocracy, civic functionaries and their wives for the trimming and fabric of State robes and for general ornamentation. Some Italian and Spanish poetical laudation of Irish serges will be found in Mrs. Green's *"Ireland's Making and Its Undoing,"* p. 53 *et seq.* In those days the ports of Sligo, Galway, Limerick, Dingle, Bantry, Baltimore, Kinsale, Cork, Dungarvan, and Waterford—all now idle—were engaged in the various import and export trades with the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Levant. The exports comprised corn, meats, and kindred products, fancy leathern articles, gloves, linen, and woollen yarns and cloths, timber for furniture, etc. The imports comprised wines, silks, fruits, and spices from the southern countries. There are records showing the existence in Genoa of a hospital for the Irish early in the twelfth century; a thing which would not be if the trade were not considerable and the Irish merchants solicitous for their countrymen. All this is evidence of intellectual, commercial and industrial intercourse between Ireland and the Continent. Tacitus observes that Ireland was more accessible by sea than Britain. There was more continental intercourse with Ireland, due partly to that, partly to the character of the Irish people, and partly to the fact that until the Norman conquest of England, overland traveling was not always safe. Even under the Tudor shadow down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England, the Irish continued to manufacture various textiles with such success that her greatest ministers deemed Irish cloaks and mantles worthy presents from one to another, and her poet Spenser embellishes his *"Fairy Queen"* with the mention of some of them; though he was base enough to write his *"View of the State of Ireland"* in which he favors the extermination of the Irish, and actually took for himself a beautiful place on the Munster Blackwater from which the Irish owner had been expelled.

Irish Arms. In more modern times Ireland has been forced by her circumstances to establish a collateral claim upon international friendship by conduct entirely different from that of her days of independence—a claim founded on chivalry to support that founded on peaceful civilization. It is not to be supposed that any of the gallant nations that are indebted to Irish arms for help in their respective periods of stress will forget their indebtedness when at last an occasion has arisen for showing practical gratitude by that simple act of justice involving neither loss nor risk—recognition of Ireland as a sovereign State. France will not forget the names of O'Brien, MacCarthy, O'Neill, O'Donnell, MacMahon, which stand in the roll of her heroes. Spain will not forget the O'Donnells, O'Neills, O'Sullivans, O'Reillys, O'Dalys, O'Doyles, O'Far-

rells. Austria will not forget the O'Donnells, O'Reillys, O'Connells, O'Briens, Fitzgeralds, Nugents, Lacey, Lallys, Taaffes. Nor will magnanimous Russia forget the services rendered her by Count O'Rourke. The United States of America, grown great in freedom, cannot forget Ireland's contribution in brain, muscle, and courage, to the forces that won that freedom for her, or the large part Irish genius, virtue and ability constitute in America's present greatness, stability, and benevolent purpose towards mankind.

IV.

Ireland is Inherently Entitled to Sovereign Independence and International Recognition.

The ancient sovereign State of Ireland long suppressed by force, has always existed in abundant possession of all the inherent attributes and qualities of a Sovereign State; her right of sovereign *status* never having been lost or abandoned; distinct in her history, the character of her people, and her geographical position; amply endowed with all the physical, moral, and intellectual resources proper to a State, as the various sections of this Statement show; all of which distinctions have been recognized by the nation most interested in denying them, namely, England; formerly recognized by penal laws against religion and civilization; and by restrictions on Industries and Trade; in modern times recognized by English legislation and rule designed and calculated to prolong the effects of that period; at present recognized by English-made laws differing from those of England, such as the dis-establishment of the Protestant Church, Land Acts, Coercion Acts, Arms Acts, and the absence of English Divorce and Polygamy Laws. Hence the onus of proof rests upon whoever denies that Ireland is a distinct national entity. England has estopped herself from denying it, having always made our distinct national characteristics, especially our love of national independence, her pretext for oppression. To us, what England recognizes or denies is immaterial; we mention them only to confound our only enemy.

It is self-evident that if we have any right at all, we are entitled to the conservation of our people, with all their capabilities, all they can produce, all the available yield of the land, water, and air of Ireland; all her contents, powers, facilities and rights, internal and external, unrestricted use of all with which nature has endowed Ireland; unrestricted intercourse with whatever countries we please; freedom of opinion and action on all things affecting Ireland, subject only to the universal law of respect for the property and rights of other nations; and of all these the Irish nation has the common right which accompanies all persons and property—the right to defend and protect herself and her property and rights, and to treat as an enemy whoever interferes with her free exercise of any of her rights. The possession of them bears with it the right to their free enjoyment and defense. Accompanying the foregoing, Ireland has a present imperative necessity for the exercise of her rights as a condition of her continued existence; and a determination as

unanimous as any country has ever had to save herself from extinction by breaking the power of the stranger and resuming exclusive self-control. A country not having these rights would have no right whatever. The right of a nation to exclusive self-control is as obvious as the right of personal liberty to an individual. The elementary international law which recognizes every nation's right to use its liberty in any way not detrimental to any other nation, is universal, comprising Ireland's right to rule herself and enjoy what nature has made hers; and as a consequence sweeps away any pretense in any other country to rule Ireland. But, an English statesman or journalist may say, all those rights taken together would amount to absolute independence. Certainly! the sum of them, absolute independence, is neither less nor more our right in Ireland than a similar sum is England's right in England. It also happens to be antecedent and superior to England's right in England historically; and has never been forfeited, as England's has been. It is only voluntarily a nation's right to independence can be lost. Ireland never having lost her independence voluntarily, has never lost her right to resume it. If any right were recognized in one nation to rule another, without the consent of the latter, many unanswerable questions would immediately arise, such as the extent of the rule, who should set a limit to it, whether there should be any limit, whether the dominant nation might extirpate or devise the extinction of the other—a vital question actually raised in the present case. Wherever and to whatever extent such vital matters are left in doubt, there is tyranny and anarchy and absence of international law. No nation has or can acquire a right to rule another nation against its will. So strong are these reasons that the proposition of this section stands by its own strength.

It is only an imbecile, nation or individual, that voluntarily submits to external control. Every controller, whether individual or nation, controls for selfish interest. Aliens to make elaborate use of powerful machinery for misrepresentation, defamation, and villification, and to prevent the victim nation's voice being heard, and to call the victim's condition "British Liberty", does not make it liberty of any kind. It is slavery wherever and whenever practiced, and no matter what adjective is applied to it. Aliens to extirpate the people by force and sword and famine and plague, and confiscate their property, and call that treatment "British Liberty", does not make it liberty of any kind. It is slavery, wherever and whenever practiced and no matter what adjective is applied to it, Aliens to destroy and restrain the lawful industries and trade of a people, and reduce them to the *status* of unskilled laborers, in order to eliminate competitors with the aliens, and to call that restraint "British Liberty" does not make it liberty of any kind. It is slavery wherever and whenever practiced and no matter what adjective is applied to it. Aliens to devise skillful means for draining all the

financial resources of the people into alien coffers for alien purposes, including the strengthening of the aliens' power over the victim people, and to call that "British Liberty," does not make it liberty of any kind. It is the negation of liberty. It is slavery wherever and whenever practiced, and no matter what adjective is applied to it. Aliens of whose entire conduct in great and in small things in the country whose rule they have usurped, of which these are typical examples, to call the misery and desolation their conduct produces "British Liberty", is to insult the intelligence and outrage the moral sense of mankind. They are violating the laws of nature, of nations, and of morality, and are enemies not alone of the victim nation but of mankind.

Ireland is jealous of her inherent rights, material and immaterial, gross and sentimental. The sum of them—sovereign independence—is her demand. When she comes to consider her inherent rights separately she begins with her good name. In normal times and circumstances opinions may differ with regard to the comparative merits of treating slander with reasoned encounter or with silent scorn, the person or nation slandered being the proper judge. "It is not with much credulity I listen to any when they speak evil of those whom they are going to plunder," says Burke. That has been largely the attitude of Ireland. But the same reasons do not apply in abnormal times, least of all on the occasion of an International Congress assembled to adjust international relations with a view to a durable peace, when all that seriously militates against peace and mutual respect should pass under review and be included in the adjustment. A slanderous State must be as dangerous to international peace as a slanderous person to social peace. To such a State nothing is sacred. Slander, by striking at the very foundation of mutual respect, renders peace impossible, and creates a situation in which peace ought not to exist among self-respecting nations. Such nations do not hold their honor cheap, and cannot transact business affecting their relations while allowing one of them license to villify another. As the honor of a nation, like that of an individual, is more precious than its property, and far more sensitive and delicate, second only to its life, so the wilful slander of a nation and destruction of its reputation is worse than any specific material injury; in addition to which, it always carries with it material injury impossible to measure, incalculable as to extent and duration. When one of two nations desiring to participate in an International Congress assembled for a purpose of the utmost importance to mankind slanders the other, either one or the other is unfit to be admitted to that Congress. If the slander is true, the slandered nation is unfit; if untrue, the slandering nation is unfit—doubly unfit if the immediate purpose of the slander be to have the slandered nation excluded. Thus a situation is created by the slander which must necessarily produce great injustice unless in-

vestigated. A skilful slander widely diffused is proverbially difficult to overtake and correct.

English rule in Ireland is in its entirety an abuse of power. It is also an abuse of power in every part of it. The first of the abuses of power with which we charge England, because the one of earliest origin, longest continuance, and least limited in extent and duration, is her systematic slander, defamation, and villification, of our national character. It began so long ago as the twelfth century, and is in operation, increased a thousand fold in volume and malice, in the twentieth. The first invaders, having found Ireland a desirable country to make their homes in, acquired as much of the country as they could by the sword and by prudent Irish marriages, and had no interest in telling falsehoods of the people with whom they immediately began to amalgamate. The same remark applies to most of the subsequent permanent settlers. As soon as they and their children had shed their foreignness and were absorbed in the superior civilization of Ireland, marrying Irish wives in successive generations, the foreign blood and spirit were replaced by the Irish, and the efforts of the newcomers to restrain them from amalgamating were mostly futile. In spite of these efforts, the Fitzgeralds, Burkes, Powers, and many others became indistinguishable from their purer Gaelic neighbors, except by their names. Having come and lived amongst the Irish, they loved them and desired to form part of them. The English at home kept jealousy alive in their hearts, as though they could never forgive the unmeasured hospitality with which their poor scholars had been treated in the ancient Irish schools, according to their own historian, the Venerable Bede. What a characteristic English return when, in 1422, the English Act of Parliament, 1 Henry VI., c. 3, expelled all Irish students as such from Oxford University. That their expulsion was for no cause but their being Irish is conclusively shown by the readiness with which the expelled students were received in continental universities. In spite of not very creditable efforts in England and in Ireland to perpetuate estrangement and enmity, the amalgamation of the races went on in Ireland. The English slanderers of Ireland, clerical and lay, down to the Tudor period, were ill-mannered English sojourners who came with hardened hearts and fixed purpose to resist the assimilative character of the Irish to which the settlers had succumbed, and to find in all things Irish material for their idle pens to turn to base uses. Their race is far from being extinct.

With the Tudors the influx of an inferior class of people from England, impelled by the commercial spirit, attracted by the natural wealth of Ireland, and covetous to make it their own, increased to the extent of forming for the first time, a self-sufficient colony determined to adopt nothing Irish but the people's property, and to dominate instead of amalgamating with the nation. Their complete want of conscience and their inordinate avarice killed in them

the ability to appreciate anything less material than wealth and power. They steeled mind and heart against every manifestation of human feeling and aspiration and against the natural and unconscious attraction of the Irish character. This community consisting of enemies and critics enormously increased the slander in volume and in malignancy. It was an instance of a community undertaking a policy of slander previously conducted by isolated individuals. Intending, as their conduct showed they did, to deprive the Irish of their property and appropriate it, determined by sheer success of brute force to overcome or outlive the common knowledge that falsehood is evidence of a bad cause, and there being no real pretext for their conduct, one had to be invented. That of slander seemed the easiest and most adaptable to any set of circumstances. To be sure, it could at best be only a weak justification for appropriating other people's property; and besides it had to encounter obstacles. Therefore, as soon as the Saxons had acquired sufficient power their first care was to destroy Irish institutions, churches, schools, and other evidences of civilization which had prevailed until then; knock out the brains of priests, brehons, ollamhs, and schoolmasters; seize and destroy the precious manuscript books; reduce the people to a condition in which revival should be impossible; and then proclaim to the world that Ireland had never had any civilization until those colonists arrived to impart one. It was a vast undertaking, and a strange one for colonists professing to have come over for "Godly purposes." England has the distinction of being the only country mentioned in history as having treated learning as a crime, forbidden it in a country in which England's own sons had got free education, then told the world that Ireland had never had any learning, and used that slander as a pretext for persecution. Apart from the consequences of which it was made the pretext, a policy combining such ingratitude and malice has never had a precedent in the records of tyranny; and it is to be hoped it will never have a copy. When the worthy Elizabeth became their queen, she saw worn in her court, amongst the fairest there, robes woven and dyed by pure and modest Munster and Connaught girls, who were incapable of conceiving that there were monsters in the world who would aim at their destruction for no cause. Before Elizabeth had reigned long Munster and Connaught were devastated and strewn with human carcasses and ashes; the artistic artisans, male and female, who had been so innocently proud of their work, and so inoffensive, were in untimely graves or hiding themselves in hunger and thirst and nakedness from Elizabeth's terrible soldiery; and all for no cause but their being Irish in need of "civilization."

"When antagonism has bred hatred towards another nation, and has consequently bred a desire to justify the hatred by ascribing hateful characters to members of that nation, it invariably happens

that the political arrangements under which they live, the religion they profess, and the habits peculiar to them, become associated in thought with these hateful characters—become themselves hateful, and cannot therefore have their natures studied with the calmness required by science.” Herbert Spencer, *Study of Sociology*.

The policy of slander once entered upon, there was no going back. The greedy English crowd that swarmed for lucre into Ireland became intoxicated with the richness of their spoil, and proclaimed that Ireland had never had any civilization and industries, and that they themselves had, of their goodness, come to redeem a savage people. It is to prevent contradiction of this atrocious falsehood that they evinced special zeal in the destruction of all the manuscript books they could lay hands upon. Their policy persisted in for generation after generation strengthened their grip on the country and gradually disabled the people from counteracting their slander, until at present the world is witnessing the application of the resources of a mighty empire to the vile policy of slandering and representing as not entitled to common justice a nation victimized, drained, and exhausted for the maintenance of that empire and for the payment of the campaign of slander itself; this system of misrepresentation and propaganda of falsehood being combined with superlative arrangements for preventing any independent Irish man or woman, or a word of truth from Ireland, reaching the outer world. England has cut us off even from our own kindred, exiled by her oppression. We believe that England’s elaborate organization of wilful falsehood and calumny is itself evidence to the world of injustice in her system; that it is a grave danger to the future peace of the world; and that it furnishes indirect and unwilling evidence of the inherent right of the Irish nation to be freed from those toils by sovereign independence.

V.

Ireland Possesses Adequate Manpower to Maintain Sovereign Independence, Once Established.

Ireland's fertility in manpower is best shown by a cursory review of England's policy of extermination, and the endurance of the Nation in spite of that policy; and the evidence has the quality of irrefutability, being furnished by the enemy, England.

The expropriations and colonizations attendant on the invasion under King Henry II of England, which did not extend far, were effected by the sword's edge, were soon to a considerable extent reversed by the same weapon, and need not occupy us further here. Of Henry's licenses to his followers to conquer and seize all the lands they were able, most remained unexecuted.

Henry VIII was the first English sovereign to plan and put into operation feasible methods for a conquest of the whole of Ireland, the substitution of English for Irish tenure of land, and, if possible, the substitution of English planters for the Irish people. This bold design of exterminating a nation sharply differentiates England's modern policy in Ireland from the previous policy of military conquest, which had failed. It was a policy which could not be proclaimed in a Christian world, nor admitted if challenged, especially in foreign countries. It needed cautious beginning and the preparation of pretexts. It was suggested to Henry to "take first from them their corn . . . so that the Irishry shall not live thereupon, then to have their cattle and beasts . . . and then they shall be without corn, victual, or cattle, *and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect of all these wars against them*," State Papers, 2, III, 329. The magnitude of the undertaking was also recognized: "*Thus to enterprise the whole extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen of the land it would be a marvelous sumptuous charge and great difficulty*," State Papers, 3, III, 176. Henry himself wrote: "Now at the beginning politic practice may do more good than exploit of war, *till such time as the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled and diminished*," State Papers, 2, III, 34. His successors, Tudor, Stuart, Republican, Dutchman, and Hanoverian, did all they could, consistently with some politic regard for the feelings of Catholic continental nations, to carry out the policy of extermination. They disregarded Henry's politic practice towards the Irish; but then that was expressly intended for the beginning and until the Irish should be enfeebled and diminished. From that time to the present, English government of Ireland has been a continuous war upon the

Irish nation—frankly open war until 1779, gradually concealed war since then.

Whoever looks for the first time into the *State Papers* and other raw materials for the history of English rule in Ireland from the accession of Henry VIII until 1779—the materials, because Irish history remains substantially unwritten—will be astonished to find there revealed on an immense scale a form of legal fraud of which he probably never read or heard or dreamt, namely, the art of finding, inventing, creating, and utilizing without scruple or remorse technical flaws in titles to land, though held by the owner in unbroken succession through his family, as actually proved in several cases, for periods extending to five hundred years. Under the Gaelic (Brehon) laws which had prevailed in Ireland from before the dawn of history, all the land of each clan's territory belonged to the entire clan; portions being set apart for the use of the chiefs and other clan officials; to whose successors—not necessarily their heirs—it descended, for their services to the community; the rest of the arable land being subject to periodical distribution to meet the requirements of the young men on attaining manhood and entitled to a sufficiency of land as a birthright. There was neither landlord, nor tenant, nor rent to pay, nor power of eviction—except by expulsion from the territory for a heinous crime—the title of all being equally good according to the law, and the chief being only life-owner of his demesne. The English pretense that this simple system was barbarous and unintelligible was refuted by the fact that every clansman knew, or could ascertain whenever he desired, the precise acreage of land to which he was entitled. There were tributes to pay for expenditure on public purposes, such as the making of roads and the sinking of rivers, but no rents. The precision and justice of the system was attested by the comparative absence of friction or legal disputes regarding land. No English authority was ever invoked on such a subject, nor did any clan appeal for English help or protection against its chief. As English power spread over the country, chiefs began to fall away, no doubt some of them tempted by the prospect of being declared owners of the lands owned by their clansmen, as well as of their demesnes. Each such renegade when made an English peer undertook an oath to “forsake and refuse his own name and state”; adopt a title instead, and hold any land the king or queen gave him as a “mere gift.” When subsequently they found themselves mere tools of England for plundering themselves as well as their country, they learned the truth of the bard's warning, “best reject the foreign designation, lest thou and thy patrimony part company.” The English, as soon as they had acquired sufficient power, declared all titles to land bad, offered English titles in substitution for them, and by guile and threats of confiscation induced many to accept their titles. Under English law these new titles to land required registration to vali-

date them, a ceremony of which the Irish were not informed. The ceremony was conveniently omitted. Owing to that omission, or some other technical flaw, or pretext, the new English titles were soon declared bad. Or, after an Irish owner's death an English spy challenged the title of deceased family to succeed to the property on the allegation that the deceased owner had not been married and had therefore no legitimate heirs, and that his property lapsed to the Crown, which meant in practice to the spy himself or some other of his class. The usual ground for the allegation was that the deceased owner had not been married in a Protestant church; an institution which in most cases had not existed in his parish at the date of his marriage. In various ways titles were attacked in detail and lands confiscated and given to Englishmen, or, if more convenient for the cheats, an enormous fine was imposed on the owner to take out an English title for his land; which English title in turn might be subsequently declared defective, and a similar ordeal had to be gone through again. Such was the nature of what the English called "Settlement."

The first confiscation in bulk was that of the Fitzgerald estates in County Kildare following the rebellion of Silken Thomas. It did not involve many of the inhabitants. On an opportune pretext extensive confiscations and extermination of rich and poor were carried out in Leix and Offaly under Queen Mary, the O'Connors and O'Moores being expelled, their lands seized, English settlers planted, Queen's and King's counties formed and their capitals named Maryborough and Philipstown after the Queen and her husband. If the modern dictum be true, that a notice to quit was equivalent to a sentence of death, it would be difficult to find a phrase strong enough to characterize wholesale extermination without notice. But much worse was to follow. Immediately on the accession of Elizabeth the fierce and bloody work began in Munster on invented rumors of Geraldine plots, with the result that when her Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, made a tour of inspection in 1567, he was able to report to her that "such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and the skulls of dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." The policy of extermination had been put in force there by burning corn in fields and haggards, the slaughter or removal of the people's cattle, the destruction of their homes, the slaying of themselves.

On the murder of John O'Neill, Sean the Proud, King of Ulster, the Act II Elizabeth, c. 1. 1569, attainted him and all his adherents and confiscated their property, thus opening up a wide area for English agents to prey upon.

In 1574 the Earl of Essex wrote home thus: "In the end it may

be put to her (the Queen's) choice whether she will suffer this people to inhabit here for their rent, or *extirp* them and plant other people in it. The force which shall bring about the one shall do the other; *and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant.*" Elizabeth did not long leave any doubt as to what her choice was. In 1577 Captain Cosby, an Englishman planted on confiscated land on the borders of Kildare, purported to prepare a banquet on a large scale on the Rath of Mullaghmast, to which he invited all the Irish nobility and gentry of a wide area round about, privately spreading a rumor that refusal to accept the invitation would be regarded as want of amity. Of more than 400 guests only one man escaped with his life. All the rest were massacred in cold blood. Many families were wholly wiped out. Of the O'Moores alone 180 were slain. Little wonder the name O'Moore is scarce now. Such was the policy of extirpation.

In 1579, after the suppression of the Geraldine League, Raleigh and Wingfield at the head of English soldiery captured 800 prisoners of war who had surrendered and laid down their arms, and had them all thrown off the rocks into Smerwick Harbor—a further exhibition of English chivalry and the policy of extirpation.

In 1583 the Act 23 of Elizabeth, cc. 7 & 8, attainted the Earl of Desmond and a vast number of his adherents by name, and confiscated and cleared at least 570,000 acres of land, extirpating the inhabitants, as the lands were all deemed to belong to the chief and therefore all inferior titles null. A president was sent to Munster and another to Connaught to execute the Queen's choice. With armed bands they scoured the country, as a few indisputable authorities will explain; each confiscation and destruction of foodstuffs producing famine and pestilence.

"As they went, they drove the whole country before them into the Ventry, and by that means they preyed and took all the cattle in the country, to the number of 8,000 kine, besides horses, garrons, sheep and goats; and all such people as they met they did without mercy put to the sword; by these means the whole country having no cattle or kine left, they were driven to such extremities that for want of victuals they were either to die and perish for famine or die under the sword. . . . By means of the continual persecuting of the rebels, who could have no breath nor rest to releave themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt or pursued; and by reason the harvest was taken from them, their cattells in great numbers preied upon, and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore people, who lived onlie upon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were taken from them, and offer themselves, their wives, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched:" *Hollinshed*, VI. 33 and 427.

"The President having received certaine information, that the Munster fugatives were harboured in those spots, having before burned all the houses and corne, and taken great preyes in Owney Onubrian and Kilquig, a strong and fast countray, nor farre from Limerick, diverted his forces East into Clanwilliam and Muskerry-quirke, where Pierce Lacey had lately been succoured; and harrassing the country, killed all mankind that were found therein, for a terrour to those as should give releefe to the runagate traitors. Thence we came to Arleagh woods, where we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corne or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles. . . . They wasted and forraged the country, so as in a small time it was not able to give the rebells any reliefs; having spoiled and brought into their garrisons the most part of their corne, being newly reaped. The next morning Sir Charles (Wilmot) coming to seek the enemy in their camp, he entered into their quarter without resistance, and where he found *nothing but hurt and sick men, whose pains and lives by the soldiers were both determined*"; Sir George Carew, *Pacata Hibernia*, 189, 584.

"No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of the towns and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people, the Irish, dead, with their mouths colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground:" *Fynes Moryson*.

"Notwithstanding the same (Munster) was a most rich and plentiful countrey, full of corne and cattle, yet ere one year and a halfe they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony harte would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands for their legges could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea and one another soon after; insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; that in short space of time there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful countrey suddainely left voide of man and beast:" *Edmund Spenser*.

So, at once, Ireland's manpower and the feasibility of extirpating the nation were being tested.

"The English nation were shuddering over the atrocities of the Duke of Alva. The children in the nurseries were being inflamed to patriotic rage and madness by tales of Spanish tyranny. Yet Alva's bloody sword never touched the young, the defenceless, *those whose sex even dogs can recognize and respect*. Sir Peter Carew had been murdering women, and children, and babies that had scarcely left the breast. . . . Gilbert, who was left in charge at Kilmallock, was illustrating yet more signally the same ten-

dency. . . . He regarded himself as dealing rather with savage beasts than with human beings; and when he tracked them to their dens he strangled the cubs and rooted out their entire broods. . . . Gilbert's method of treatment has this disadvantage, that it must be carried out to the last extremity, or it ought not be tried at all. The dead do not come back; and if the mothers and babies are slaughtered with the men, the race gives no further trouble. But the work must be done thoroughly. Partial and fitful cruelty lays up only a long debt of deserved and ever-deepening hate. . . . In justice to the English soldiers, however, it must be said that it was no fault of theirs if any Irish child of that generation was allowed to live to manhood. . . . The inference is but too natural that work of this kind was the road to preferment, and that this, or something like it, was the ordinary employment of the Saxon garrison in Ireland: "Froude, *History of England*, X., 508, 512.

As regards Connaught, Malby, the President of that province, made a report in 1576, from which Mr. Froude quotes thus: "At Christmas I marched into their territory, and finding courteous dealing with them, had like to have cut my throat. I thought good to take another course, and so, *with determination to consume them by fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young*, I entered their mountains. I burned all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found, where were slain at that time above sixty of their best men, and among them the best leaders they had. This was Shan Burke's country. Then I burned Ulick Burke's country. In like manner I assaulted a castle where the garrison surrendered. I put them to the misericordia of my soldiers. They were all slain. Thence I went on, sparing none which came in my way, which did so amaze their followers that they could not tell where to bestow themselves. Shan Burke made means to me to pardon him, and forbear killing of his people. I would not hearken, but went on my way. The gentlemen of Clanrickard came to me, I found it was but dallying to win time; so I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses standing as I left his brother, and what people was found had as little favour as the other had. *It was all done in rain and frost and storm*, journeys in such weather bringing them the sooner to submission. They are humble enough now, and will yield to any terms we like to offer them."

Such was the policy of extermination in Connaught. Some years later Sir John Perrot effected what was called the "Composition of Connaught," all the settlements being called "godly." Henry Harvey, Secretary to Lord Deputy Essex, reports the latter as saying, "There exists but one weapon would avail here. It is famine! famine! Famine with the grisly face, the clattering bones, the hollow eyesockets. Famine which eats up, not the fighting men alone, but the women and the children, too, till there be not one of them left."

Ulster next. It was under the ungrateful Stuart that the policy of extermination reached a development till then unequalled in history. The extermination of the whole Irish population, from the major part of Ulster and the plantation of this province with English and Scottish settlers was a human tragedy on an enormous scale and of consequences affecting the whole course of subsequent British and Irish history. Carried out under the first of the Stuart kings of England, whom as a prince of royal Gaelic race the Irish desired to accept as their king, it had in it an element of peculiar ingratitude. One of James's motives for it was to obtain money for the land from wealthy citizens of London to enable him to live extravagantly. It was, however, destined, though without the help of the Irish, and indeed in spite of them, to bring its own retribution before the end of the century by turning the balance against the Stuart dynasty at two critical moments, costing Charles I his head, James II his throne, and the Irish nation sacrifices of life and property to the verge of extinction. A single quotation will sufficiently illustrate the working of the policy of extermination in Ulster. It is from a letter written by Lord Deputy Chichester toward the end of 1607: "I have often said and written, it is famine that must consume the Irish; as our swords and other endeavors worketh not that speedy effect which is expected. Hunger would be a better, because a speedier, weapon to employ against them than the sword. . . . I burned all along the Lough (Neagh) within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age or sex soever, besides many burned to death. He killed man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could find." Godkin, *Land War*.

At first extermination in Ulster comprised the territories now known as the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, most of Armagh, and part of Monaghan. Cavan and Fermanagh were subsequently added; all amounting to about 3,683,000 acres. Antrim and Down did not come into this scheme; immigrants from Scotland, most of them of Gaelic race and speech, but of the new religion, having otherwise planted themselves in those counties at an earlier date. Of the confiscated lands, 1,141,000 acres were allotted to the undertakers, Scotch and English, who were all bound by their grants not to retain any Irish tenants on the lands; 366,800 acres to the London companies; 350,000 acres to the servitors, that is, persons in the military, civil or other service of the Crown. Grants to corporate towns, Trinity College, Dublin, churches and schools; and remnants of inferior land, bogs, swamps and barren hills left for special reasons to a small number of the Irish, absorbed the remainder. Permanent commissions were set up, ostensibly for plausible purposes, such as protection of Crown property, *i. e.*, confiscated property, enforcing laws against church and monastic lands; seeing that no new confiscations were made without attainder and inquisition:

remedying defective titles; receiving surrenders and making new grants, and so on. But the real purpose of those commissions was to promote the policy of extermination, not alone in doomed areas like Ulster, but over the entire country, as we shall see. Another cognate institution was the Court of Wards, whose function was to have the infant sons of Catholic land owners in certain cases seized, kidnapped, sent to England, brought up as Protestants and when they had reached manhood brought back to Ireland to work England's purposes against their own relatives, and in various ways.

How did Leinster fare? In 1609 the land owners of North Wexford innocently allowed themselves to be induced by a panic organized for the purpose to surrender their lands to the commission for the remedy of defective titles, and asked to have the lands re-granted to them. The surrenders were officially accepted in 1610. Before any re-grants were made, lo, a hitherto unknown title of the King of England to the entire district was faked or "discovered." Before the end of that year an order came that the lands were the King's property, and should be granted, not to their Irish owners, but to two Englishmen—Sir Edward Fisher and Sir Lawrence Esmond. The owners, having surrendered their titles, were helpless. After a long and bitter struggle, a compromise was arranged between the owners and the two strangers. But the confiscation was widened beyond their requirements. Of the owners, those who were old English, that is, colonists born in Ireland, got, as usual, more and better land than the old Irish. By this transaction about 100,000 acres of arable land with appurtenant mountain land not measured, were wholly cleared of Irish and planted with English settlers. Many of the old Irish owners were driven out altogether; all that remained were on greatly reduced areas, some being reduced to the *status* of tenants-at-will, cottiers and laborers. We are gravely told, that after this the Irish lost all confidence in English justice. Apparently slow to lose it, they are slower to recover it, not having been yet given any reason for doing so.

The Wexford method of confiscation was followed in Ely O'Carroll and Annaly, and in every county in Leinster except Wicklow. Wicklow's turn was, however, at hand. The same method was followed in County Leitrim, which the English always coupled with Meath, because the King of Breffni-O'Rourke had been King of Meath also at the time of Henry II. Ormond and other parts of Munster not yet confiscated were next dealt with on the North Wexford plan. A national effort at resistance was avoided by taking the country in districts and "*without any show that such a thing was meant.*"

In the case of the confiscation in Connaught under Charles I, his Deputy—Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford—bribed the judges of the Court of Claims with a percentage for themselves of the area of estates he wanted them to declare forfeited. We are

told that "The estates were found by local juries to have been forfeited." Of course they were. Little wonder, seeing that jurors who refused to produce the verdict that Strafford desired were fined 4,000 pounds each, their estates seized until the fine was paid, and they had in addition to acknowledge their offence in public court on bended knees. Little wonder they found agreeable verdicts when the lawyers who had in the earlier cases defended the owners were tendered the Oath of Supremacy, and on their refusal as Catholics to take it were turned out of court and allowed to plead no more. Thus the owners attacked, knowing nothing of English law and little of the English language, were left without legal assistance. On Strafford's subsequent impeachment in London, one of the counts in the indictment was, "That jurors who gave their verdict according to their consciences were censured in the Castle Chamber in great fines, sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue; and sometimes marked in the forehead with infamous punishments." The thieves quarrelled in England, but the thieving went on in Ireland unabated. Strafford practised his system in Connaught, Clare, Limerick and Tipperary.

The composition of Connaught carried out by Sir John Perrot in 1585 comprised the granting of English titles to the land owners. In 1641 Lords Justices ruled that all the titles to land given by Perrot were invalid. Thus again was opened up another extensive field for legal chicanery, the imposition of new fines for titles, confiscation of the most desirable lands and endless corruption and misery.

Every confiscation involved an infinity of human suffering among high and low, and absolute starvation and death among the working farmers and poor generally. If to kill be more merciful than to keep alive for the purpose of torture, then Cromwell was more merciful as well as more logical than his predecessors in aiming without disguise at the utter destruction of the Irish nation. There is no doubt now that this was his aim, and that he was prevented from carrying it to completion by the magnitude of the task being greater than he as an Englishman had previously realized, beyond what his resources enabled him to do, and also by some regard for certain Catholic States from which he expected to derive some advantages. Though falling short of his purpose of completing the extermination Cromwell's was the most extensive and heartless campaign of the whole series, never approached in brutality anywhere before or since. Like the campaign under Elizabeth, it swept over three provinces, and more ruthlessly. It was not war, but broadcast murder. His soldiers were a band of hungry murderers let loose on the country, robbing for their living in lieu of pay, murdering men, especially priests and monks; outraging women and girls whose food they had eaten, then murdering the women and children; tossing babies in the air and catching them on the points of their swords in the pres-

ence of their mothers, in pursuance of a hint given by Cromwell himself that "nits will be lice." They were answerable to no authority whatever.

In August, 1652, before the Cromwellian massacres were fully ended, the English Roundhead Parliament passed the "Act for the Settlement of Ireland," the most murderous measure that ever emanated from a legislature. It divided the whole population into classes, and meted out specific punishment to all those classes, except only such persons as could prove that they had been constantly faithful to the interests of England as represented by the parliament. Want of fidelity to the parliament was the offence. As practically the whole nation, Catholic and Protestant, had at some time of the war fought for the king against the parliament, especially owing to the revulsion of feeling caused by the execution of Charles I, scarcely any person in Ireland was in a position to prove constant fidelity to the parliament. To overcome this difficulty, the ordinary course of law was reversed. Every person in Ireland was held to be guilty and to have forfeited life or property, or both, according to the category to which he belonged, unless he proved his innocence. This is the special note which distinguishes the Cromwellian confiscation from all others. Amongst the persons excepted from pardon, that is, condemned to death by the statute, were all priests, secular and regular. Under this it is acknowledged that three bishops and more than 300 priests were massacred, in addition to all the casual murders committed by the troops during the war. All was done in the name of God and religion. It was, as Carte the historian says, "extermination preached by gospel." An English authority estimates that the sections 1 and 4 of the Act condemned to death about 100,000 Irishmen. The women and children murdered were treated as negligible and not counted. "Sir William Cole, ancestor to Lord Enniskillen, proudly boasted of his achievement in having 7,000 of the 'rebels' famished to death within a circuit of a few miles of his garrison:" Godkin, *Land War*.

There was a final provision in the Act that any person who on any ground had been spared his life might be transported to wherever the government pleased. This was the authority for exterminating the people and confiscating their property and planting English settlers thereon. In September, 1653, the scheme was finally settled. The river Shannon was made the boundary between Catholic and Protestant Ireland, with the view that the land to the west being largely barren or poorer than that to the east and famine and plague being then prevalent in all poor parts of the country from the previous ten years of war, the excess population thrown onto the west should soon die of want and their unburied corpses would not offend the English planted on the lands thus cleared of their owners. As a result of the long withdrawal of labor from agriculture and other industries during war, the country

was little better than a wilderness. Though the actual residents in Connaught and Clare were subject to the same inquisitions and transplantations as elsewhere, the operation in their case consisted largely in contracting the area of their lands in order to create spaces of refuge for the dispossessed. Thus was created the congestion in the west of Ireland of which we have heard so much from that time to the present. The governor and commissioners were directed by the statute to publish and proclaim "this present declaration" that "all the ancient estates and farms of the people of Ireland were to belong to the adventurers and the army of England, and that the parliament had assigned Connaught for the habitation of the Irish nation, whither they must transplant, with their wives and daughters and children before the 1st May following (1654), under penalty of death if found on this side of the Shannon after that day." Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*. Any Catholic found east of the Shannon after that day might be shot at sight by any Englishman, without trial whatsoever. It having been found impossible to have the country cleared by that date, Protestants were allowed wherever they had reason to think any money remained among the Catholics to extract it from them by compounding, and then as soon as the Catholics were fully stripped of means, their lives were spared, but they were banished beyond the Shannon.

As usual in such cases, the Act was not uniformly worked. The Catholic land owners, large and small, were expelled from all counties; but there was a difference in the treatment of the clansmen become tenants. As a rule these were cleared off only the fertile lands. If they burrowed homes for themselves in the bogs and barren hills, they were not deemed worth killing; and besides, the new owners would be able to extract money from them indefinitely as rent of land on which no Englishman would live, and the poor wretches would be convenient for agricultural labor without pay except scraps of coarse food. The more fertile parts of Tipperary and Kerry were wholly cleared of Irish, rich and poor. All the grantees were bound to plant a certain number of British Protestant families on the lands granted to them. These plantations were always made on superior land, and can be pointed out in all parts of the country to the present day. Of some 10,000 Catholic land owners in Ireland at the beginning of the war, all but twenty-six were deprived completely of their land, and themselves and their children ruined by being driven either beyond the Shannon or out of the country altogether, or to poverty and the grave. There were actually transplanted beyond the Shannon 1,200 of them with their families, and it is estimated about 40,000 other dependents. The rest of the population who had not fallen in the war were disposed of in characteristic ways. Some 40,000 Irish soldiers, on surrendering in utter want of food, were allowed to enter any foreign service they chose, and foreign vessels were in the harbors to take them away,

some to France, some to Spain, some to Austria, some to Venice, some to Sweden. Bands of soldiers were sent all over the country, not to slay this time, but to collect children and youths for sale through Bristol merchants to slave-owners in Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the colony of Virginia; the girls for a worse fate. It was found that 25 pounds each could be obtained for them, and Cromwell's government was in need of money. By all the various methods the population was, under Cromwell, reduced to one-third. At the end, more than 30,000 Irish, apart from soldiers, were known to be wandering homeless in various countries of Europe.

The total area confiscated is estimated at 8,000,000 acres. Cromwell's officers and men were given grants of land in lieu of pay, which was long in arrears. First, lots were drawn as to the provinces in which they were to get the land; next as to the counties. Contractors and others who had catered for the army and had not been paid; adventurers who had lent money for the support of the army as a speculation, and all who were willing to advance money to the government or its representatives, all these were rewarded with Irish land. The regicides, that is those who had been useful in connection with the execution of Charles I, seventy in number, were rewarded with twenty thousand (20,000) acres of the best land in Ireland, chiefly in Tipperary.

In 1641 the value of the cattle and stock in Ireland was estimated at 4,000,000 pounds, and in 1652 they were estimated at only 500,000 pounds. If, as is now generally admitted, its people are a country's truest wealth, who can estimate the gross loss inflicted upon Ireland by Cromwell? Still, the extermination of a nation, especially of an intensely home-loving nation, proved a vast enterprise. By means accountable only by their strong attachment to home, the people found their way back to their respective districts as near as they could with safety approach to their old homes.

On the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in the person of Charles II, from whom the Irish Catholics had deserved and expected much, that king, under the guidance largely of the Duke of Ormond, confirmed most of the Cromwellian titles to land in Ireland. In one of his proclamations he went so far as to describe as "rebels" the Irish who had fought for him against Cromwell. As Lord Chancellor Eustace said in a letter to Ormond, "Those who fought against his majesty are to have the estates of those who fought for him." This ungrateful policy was carried out under the Act of Settlement and Explanation. It is true that Charles issued many letters, as he was then legally entitled to do, ordering the restoration of individuals to their estates, and sometimes of corporations, as those of Cork and Galway, in accordance with treaties and solemn agreements entered into with his father before the outbreak of the war; but his letters were disregarded by the Cromwellians in possession of the lands and in possession of arms to defend them, of the garrisons

and of the entire machinery of government in Ireland. Charles had got enough of exile to spoil his taste for more of it. In response to numerous appeals, irresistible if logic or justice counted, he appointed a commission in 1661 to examine claims. The negative result can easily be guessed when we add that of its 36 members, every one was in possession of land taken from the Irish. The Cromwellians made plain to all concerned their intention to hold all they had got, and the king was in no position to deal with them, even if inclined. A plot to seize Dublin Castle and overthrow the government gave him to understand what he might expect if he went further. He turned his attention to pleasanter matters and no one was punished for the plot. "Not 100 of the Irish nobles at this day possess as much land as he could be buried in, though they expect it in this year, 1660"; so wrote Dugald MacFirbis. Vain was the expectation; and this neither from lack of land nor from lack of rightful claimants. Notwithstanding the voracious grabbing, a considerable amount of land remained in the hands of the government officials not finally disposed of, and many of the outcast owners would have been glad to take small portions compared with their former estates. But Charles found other use for it. He made a present of 100,000 acres to the Duke of Ormond, in addition to the extensive territory which he, as a Protestant and trimmer, had been able to retain. Over 170,000 acres still remained, the final remnant of property lost through fidelity to the Stuart cause. Instead of distributing even this among the outcast owners, the Stuart king had the meanness to concur in the grant of it to his own brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II, thus making him a Cromwellian planter, the lowest degradation to which a Stuart could fall. It is due to James to say that when he came to Ireland in 1689 he did what he could in the short time left him to restore those lands to their original owners. The lands were, however, almost immediately confiscated again by William III, together with other lands, amounting in all to nearly 2,000,000 acres. He, of his goodness, made a present of 95,000 acres to his favorite mistress, Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney.

The landlordism resulting from all this shuffling of human beings was such a product of iniquity as has never been equalled in any country for the scope and degree of absolute and irresponsible power placed in the hands of the new land-owning class, a class least of all mankind fitted for irresponsible power, the thorough use they made of their power, as though they were not dealing with human beings, and the utter degradation and misery of their Catholic peasant victims. Excepting the Protestants of Ulster, who were insisting upon rights which subsequently came to be recognized as the Ulster Custom, the entire rural population of Ireland was reduced to the lowest conceivable form of servitude. As the wildest animal, wounded and broken, struggles back, even in face of danger, to its

original home, on any terms or without terms, so did many of the unfortunate Irish, having no means to take them anywhere else. The hierarchy of new landlords were all English Protestants, the larger of them being Absentees. Four times the colonial parliament enacted an Absentee Tax upon English grantees of Irish lands, who were well pleased to receive rents from Ireland, but preferred to spend them in their own country. These taxes were so successfully evaded that there was no substantial yield of revenue from them; and though Englishmen cried out against certain penalties they threatened, no grantee lost his land under them. Of those new landlords who resided in Ireland, in the eighteenth century, this is a description by Mr. Froude, the English historian: "The gentry hated labor. Everyone who could subsist in idleness set himself up for a gentleman. Everyone who held a farm that he could divide or sublet became a landlord and lived on his rents. The land was let, and under-let, and under-let again, till six rents had sometimes to be provided by the actual cultivator before he was allowed to feed himself and his family, whilst the proprietor and quasi-proprietor grew into the Irish blackguard, the racing, drinking, duelling, swearing squireen, the tyrant of the fair, the shame and scandal of the order to which he affected to belong." A strange contrast, this "godly" system, with the "barbarous" system administered by the brehons. Mr. Froude proceeds: "The English deliberately determined to keep Ireland poor and miserable as the readiest means of preventing it becoming troublesome. They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufacture by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on its wretched agriculture, for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmers. The people, retaining their tribal traditions, believed they had rights upon the land on which they lived. The owner believed that there were no rights but his own. In England the rights of landlords have similarly survived their duties, but they have been modified by custom or public opinion. In Ireland the proprietor was an alien with the fortunes of the residents upon his estates in his hands and at his mercy. He was divided from them in creed and language; he despised them as of an inferior race, and he acknowledged no interest in common with them. Had he been allowed to trample on them and make them his slaves, he would have cared for them, perhaps, as he cared for his horses. But their persons were free, while their farms and houses were his, and thus his only object was to wring out of them the last penny which they could pay, leaving them and their children to a life scarcely raised above the level of their *own pigs*:" *Romanism and the Irish Race*, p. 36.

Evictions, destitution, famine and the diseases that accompany famine followed every confiscation and every instance of economic pressure caused by hostile legislation. The first artificial famine produced by English law in Ireland was when Elizabeth's soldiers

devastated Munster and Connaught, wantonly burning the corn in the fields and haggard, and killing the cattle as well as the people. James, the two Charles's, Cromwell, William III, the Georges and Victoria have followed Elizabeth's example in the policy of extermination, if not by the sword, by the baser and more horrible means of State-created famine and plague. The legislation of 1699, which destroyed the woolen industry and left people without employment and the country without money, was followed by famine lasting continuously in many parts of the country for fully sixty years, covering the whole country periodically owing to bad harvests consequent on the inferiority of the tillage the people were able to practise, and carrying away immense numbers of victims in 1726-27, 1740-41 and 1761-62. "Of that famine—the famine of 1740-41—we have many contemporaneous descriptions. According to one writer, 400,000 persons died. Bishop Berkeley has left touching descriptions of the misery that came before his own eyes and smote his loving heart; and another writer gives a picture as terrible as any even in the history of famines: 'I have seen,' says this writer, 'the laborer endeavoring to work at his spade, but fainting from want of food, and forced to quit it. I have seen the aged father eating grass like a beast, and in the anguish of his soul wishing for his dissolution. I have seen the helpless orphan exposed on the dung heap, and none to take him in for fear of infection, and I have seen the hungry infant sucking at the breast of the already expired parent.'" *Lecky, Eighteenth Century II*, 218, 219.

There was a continuous stream of emigration of as many of the poor as could scrape together the passage money to banish themselves. Throughout the eighteenth century we read casual remarks about numerous deaths from famine; while the government, whether it was in London or in Dublin, having put the rent-extracting and exterminating machinery in operation, occasionally by statute increased the machine's efficiency, abused the Irish for being still alive and went its way absolutely heedless, until at last the whole civilized world was shocked at the wanton destruction of a whole population by the most terrible of all deaths in 1846, 7 and 8. There was never any reason save criminal misgovernment why one of the most fertile countries in the world should be afflicted with want of food.

In the 19th century, so long as the Napoleonic wars lasted, the prices of farm produce enabled Irish agriculturists to live, in spite of inflated rents; when peace came and prices fell, the inflated rents were no longer payable, eviction clearances and distress became general, and no year passed in which large numbers of the peasantry did not die of famine. The report of an English Select Committee in 1819 opens with the grim and significant statement that the general distress and want of employment "*are so notorious as to*

render the production of any particular evidence to establish the extent and variety of the evil unnecessary."

Another Select Committee in 1823 report the state of the country as "wretched and calamitous to the greatest degree."

A similar committee in 1824 reported that the numerous tenants, evicted and reduced to the *status* of laborers, could find no employment, and that such laborers as found fairly constant work received not more than four pence or five pence a day.

In 1830 a further committee reported that from one-fourth to one-fifth of the Irish population were without employment and were exposed to "misery and suffering which no language can describe, and which it is necessary to witness in order to fully estimate." Even in those counties in Ulster where the linen industry was a general advantage and where Protestant tenants had the protection of the Ulster Custom in land tenure, agricultural laborers could not find employment for more than three days in a week.

The French publicist Gustave de Beaumont, having visited Ireland in 1835 and 1837, wrote: "I have seen the Indian in his forest and the negro in his chains, and I thought that I beheld the lowest term of human misery; but I did not then know the lot of Ireland. . . . Irish misery forms a type by itself, of which there exists nowhere else either model or imitation. In seeing it, one recognizes that no theoretical limits can be assigned to the misfortunes of nations."

The report of the poor inquiry commission in 1836 says: "We cannot estimate the number of persons (heads of families) out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year at less than 585,000, nor the number of persons dependent on them at less than 1,800,000; making in all 2,385,000." The repeal of the English corn laws and the establishment of "free trade," while highly beneficial to industrial England, was ruinous to agricultural Ireland, checking her only considerable industry killing such other little industries as continued to linger in towns and intensifying the distress. At no season throughout those years had the Connaught peasantry sufficient food. The introduction of the degrading English poor law system in 1838 accentuated the distress of the poor, classed state-created poverty as a crime, and ostensibly extended the cost of its maintenance to the landlord class. They, however, in some cases, successfully shifted their part of the burden to their tenants.

On the 16th February, 1844, Mr. Disraeli (afterwards Lord Beaconsfield) said in the English House of Commons: "He wished to see a public man come forward and say what the Irish question was. Let them consider Ireland as they would any other country similarly circumstanced. They had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien church, and the weakest executive in the world. This was the Irish question. Gentlemen would say

at once on reading of a country in such a position the remedy is revolution—not the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. But the connection with England prevented revolution. Therefore England was logically in the position of being the cause of all the misery in Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all the changes which a revolution would do by force.” *Hansard, at date.*

In 1845 a royal commission known as the “Devon Commission” reported the rural distress intensified and extended to all ranks, as compared with the period of previous reports: “When we consider this state of things and the large proportion of the population which comes under the designation of agricultural laborers, we have to repeat that the patient endurance which they exhibit is deserving of high commendation, and entitles them to the best attention of the government and parliament. . . . Up to this period any improvement that may have taken place is attributable almost entirely to the habits of temperance in which they have so generally persevered, and not, we grieve to say, to any increased demand for their labor.” “Government and Parliament,” which would have attended promptly to a report of less gravity relating to their own people, turned a deaf ear to the Irish people, who were not *their* own, and whom it was their policy to exterminate.

The Times, leading English newspaper, on 26th June, 1845, said: “The facts of Irish destitution are ridiculously simple. They are almost too commonplace to be told. The people have not enough to eat. They are suffering a real, though an artificial, famine. Nature does her duty. The land is fruitful enough. Nor can it be fairly said that man is wanting. The Irishman is disposed to work. In fact, man and nature together do produce abundantly. The island is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever interposes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet. The famished victim of a mysterious sentence stretches out his hand to the viands which his own industry has placed before his eyes, but no sooner are they touched than they fly. A perpetual decree of *sic vos non vobis* condemns him to toil without enjoyment.”

Ireland's experience of State-produced famine, chronic and periodical, was about to be repeated on an unprecedented scale; and in the presence of all the official reports it could never have been pleaded that the guilty government was not aware of its coming. Mr. W. E. Forster, a relief commissioner on behalf of the Society of Friends (afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland), wrote from Cleggan, Connemara, on 22nd January, 1847: “Having heard an alarming account of this village, I had ordered two bags of meal to meet me. . . . The distress was appalling; far beyond my power of description. I was quickly surrounded by a mob of men and women, more like famished dogs than fellow creatures, whose

figures, looks and cries all showed that they were suffering the ravening agony of hunger. . . . I went into two or three cabins. In one there were two emaciated men lying at full length on the damp floor in their ragged clothes too weak to move—actually worn down to skin and bone. In another a young man lay ill of dysentery; his mother had pawned everything, even his shoes, to keep him alive, and I never shall forget the resigned, uncomplaining tone with which he told me that *all the medicine he wanted was food.*”

Mr. A. M. Sullivan, the eminent Irish publicist, wrote with reference to West Munster: “In our district it was a common occurrence to find on opening the front door in early morning, leaning against it the corpse of some victim who in the night had rested in its shelter. We raised a public subscription, and employed two men with horse and cart to go around each day and gather up the dead.”

The Census Commissioners in their comments accompanying the vital statistics a few years later said: “No pen has recorded the numbers of the forlorn and starving who perished by the wayside or in the ditches, or of the mournful groups sometimes of whole families, who lay down and died one after another upon the floor of their miserable cabins, and so remained uncoffined and unburied till chance unveiled the appalling scene. . . . And yet, through all, the forbearance of the Irish peasantry and the calm submission with which they bore the deadliest ills that can fall on man can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any people:” *Official Census of Ireland, 1851.*

Lord John Russell, Prime Minister, in the English House of Commons: “More than 50,000 *families* were in that year turned out of their wretched dwellings, without pity and without refuge. . . . We have made Ireland—I speak deliberately—we have made it the most degraded and the most miserable country in the world. . . . All the world is crying shame upon us, but we are equally callous to our ignominy and to the results of our misgovernment.”

John Mitchel, commenting in the *United Irishman* of the 4th March, 1848, upon an inquest held on a family named Boland, who, though they tilled about twenty acres of land, had died of starvation. “Now what became of poor Boland’s twenty acres of crops? Part of it went to Gibraltar, to victual the garrison; part to South Africa, to provision the robber army; part went to Spain, to pay for the landlord’s wine; part to London, to pay the interest of his honor’s mortgage to the Jews. The English ate some of it, the Chinese had their share, the Jews and the Gentiles divided it amongst them; and there was *none* for Boland.”

John Mitchel, in his *Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)*, said: “At the end of six years I can set down these things calmly, but

to see them might have driven a wise man mad. There is no need to recount how the assistant barristers and sheriffs, aided by the police, tore down the roof-trees and ploughed up the hearths of village after village. . . . how in some hamlets by the seaside, most of the inhabitants being already dead, an adventurous traveler would come upon some family eating a famished ass; how maniac mothers stowed away their dead children to be devoured at midnight . . . how families, when all was eaten and no hope left, took their last look at the sun, built up their cottage doors that none might see them die or hear their groans, and were found weeks afterwards skeletons on their own hearth."

The eviction clearances which accompanied and followed the Great Famine are too appalling to be described here. Father Lavelle estimates the number of houses leveled on the eviction of their owners in Ireland in the twenty years 1841 to 1861 at 270,000. This is certainly an under-estimate, but at five persons to a family it represents 1,350,000 persons left homeless. The official returns of evictions are considerably under the true number, because they include no cases of eviction but those carried out under the order of a court, whereas numerous evictions were carried out all over the country by mere notice to quit, or by landlord or agent in person without the intervention of any court. Evictions and emigration from economic pressure continued on a large scale for more than thirty years after the Great Famine, and continued down to 1914 on a scale almost as large in proportion to the diminished population.

The Great Famine in Queen Victoria's reign was, in terrible truth, the last great effort of the English Government to exterminate the Irish nation. We call this treating Ireland as a victim country, that is, worse than international law would allow an enemy country to be treated, because if England had treated the enemy country so badly, civilized States would have intervened to stop the barbarity. Thus it was that in the middle of the 19th century, in the reign of "Victoria the Good," the policy of extermination commended to and graciously adopted by Henry VIII of England three centuries before reached its highest development so far. It is now in operation again in another form, and is certain to continue so long as our connection with England lasts. That the Irish race or nation exists at all today is a marvelous demonstration of its innate virtue over English brute force. Where was, where is, that cosmopolitan sympathy of which England boasts so much abroad, where she is not so well known? Does anyone still wonder that the Irish people even now fail to see the superiority of the English land system to that of ancient Ireland? Can anyone, on a survey of the whole, wonder that the Irish nation desires release once for all from a bondage so terrible? Anyone who still doubts that the governing purpose of the rule which produces these results was, and is, ex-

termination of the Irish nation, may take, not an Irish opinion, but that of the *Times* newspaper in 1863: "The Celt goes to yield to the Saxon. This land of 160 harbors, with its fertile soil, its noble rivers and beautiful lakes, with fertile mines and riches of every kind, is being cleared quietly for the interest and luxury of humanity." The *Saturday Review* of 28th November, 1863, gloats over what it deems the delightful fact that "silence reigns over the vast solitude of Ireland."

Arthur Young, an English social economist, states in his *Tour of Ireland*, after a close study of the country from end to end at its very worst period in the 18th century, that owing to the fertility of the soil, its minerals and other resources, its inland fisheries, its natural facilities for seafaring and trade, its numerous other properties and conditions and the character of its people, Ireland was capable of supporting in comfort a population of 100,000,000. This is a large estimate, and cannot be adequately discussed here. But there is little difference of opinion among competent economists that under its own government Ireland would be self-supporting with a population of 30,000,000. That happens to be about the number of the Irish race at the present time. Unfortunately; owing to English rule, owing especially to the policy of extermination, not quite one-seventh of that number are now in Ireland. Some 20,000,000 of our race are in America, North and South; 6,000,000 scattered in other parts of the world, and a remnant of little more than 4,000,000 cling on to the home of the race. Even these are being attacked by England as these words are being written. Any impartial reader of this section will admit that the existence of the Irish race in such numbers today is a marvelous demonstration of manpower.

VI.

Ireland is Apt for Industries and Trade as an Independent State.

As in the other departments, Ireland's aptitude for industries and trade is most convincingly illustrated by the number and character of the measures found necessary in order to incapacitate Ireland. These we now proceed to set forth:

The Cattle Trade. Some of the Catholic land-owners, deprived of their property as just described, and not fit or disposed or personally free to enter foreign military service, thought they might be able to make a living by engaging in the cattle and provision trades, which Ireland, when independent, had always carried on. The English king and parliament had occasionally enacted laws hostile to Irish commerce when Ireland was independent and able to disregard them. But the first operative English statute gravely hostile to Irish trade, and consequently to her manufactures, was the Cattle and Navigation Act of 1663. This Act was deplored by the most farseeing of the Anglo-Irish, who, having their homes and permanent interests in Ireland were affected themselves by the country being deprived of the only source of prosperity then available.

After a century of continuous turmoil and the expropriation of the entire nation, there can scarcely have been any manufactured products to export. Live stock and raw materials were the only remaining wealth. The penalty the Act imposed for sending large cattle into England was forty shillings a head, and for sheep ten shillings a head; penalties approximately the value of the animals, money being scarce then. The Act therefore amounted to absolute prohibition. Nevertheless, a Second Cattle Act was passed in 1666, still further restricting Ireland's freedom of trade. While the bill was being discussed in the House of Lords, one of the lords opposing it gave expression to the universal and eternal truism that Ireland, if it had the power, would be as much entitled to desire the king to restrain the trade of England. Obvious as that truism is, scarcely one in a million of Englishmen has at any time had, or has today, the honesty to acknowledge it. That solitary ray of truth had no effect on the progress or content of the bill, which became law in mechanical order and was followed by numerous other Acts, and by Orders in Council having the force of Acts, prohibiting expressly or in effect the importation into England of Irish cattle, sheep, swine, beef, mutton, bacon, pork, butter and cheese—almost all the that Ireland could then spare for export. The statutes and orders of those years and of 1670 and 71 treated Ireland more severely

than a foreign neutral country; in some respects more severely than an enemy country; in short, as a victim country. The direct result of this legislation was to leave on the hands of the Irish farmers live stock which there was nobody to buy; to stop the normal course of breeding stock; to reduce the value of horses so that many were killed for dog meat; to spread among the poor in cities as well as in the country distress and disease, and to force Ireland into sheep farming and the development of a woolen industry—the fate of which we shall consider later. For the present, Ireland was prevented from exporting wool to any country except England, and allowed to export it to England on payment of prohibitive duties. Thus held in a vise, prevented from exporting cattle, sheep and wool, she was forced to expand as much as possible the trade of exporting dead meat and other food stuffs and hides as the only available means of obtaining money, and this trade necessarily took time to develop.

The Provision Trade. In the Middle Ages, for the reasons already stated, there was more mixed continental intercourse with Ireland than with England, both imports and exports comprising a wide range of articles; but no international commerce on the modern scale. Ireland's modern trade in provisions began as soon as the country was settled after the Cromwellian confiscation and the stoppage of the trade in cattle and wool; and in the 18th century it became their biggest trade. War or commercial conflict between England and continental countries frequently limited the ports in which Ireland could find a market for her produce, and the market was sometimes such as failed to cover the original cost and the transport charges. The fact is on record that in 1675 Irish beef was selling in Holland and Zealand at a penny a pound. Ireland became so well known as a source of cheap foodstuffs for the purpose of raising money to meet the new imposts that the French and Dutch, and even the English, were able to victual their ships at Irish ports more cheaply than at English. That the trade in foodstuffs did not, under English rule, include corn, as in the time of Ireland's independence, was a consequence of the confiscations and Penal Code, which had transferred from the original owners all or the best parts of their lands to men who, perhaps uncertain how long their new titles might endure, used the lands in pasture, the easiest use without labor. This tendency to grazing in substitution for tillage was also encouraged by a resolution adopted in 1735 by the colonial House of Commons at the bidding of the English Government, exempting all pasture lands from tithe. Tithes were very onerous whenever and wherever English rule extended in Ireland. The more land was relieved from tithe by being let out in pasture, the heavier the tithe became on the tilled lands, because they had then to bear the gross amount for the whole parish. The relief was for the wealthy Protestants and absentees; the

burden for the working farmers, especially the Catholics, who occupied the least fertile of the lands. On this, Lecky, pro-English historian, says: "Tithes, in their original theory, are not absolute property, but property assigned in trust for the discharge of certain public duties. In Ireland, when they were not appropriated by laymen, they were paid by an impoverished Catholic peasantry to a clergy who were opposed to their religion, and usually not even resident among them; and they were paid in such a manner that the heaviest burden lay on the very class who were least able to bear it. It was a common thing for a parish to consist of some 4,000 or 5,000 acres of rich pasture land held by a prosperous grazier who had been rapidly amassing a large fortune through the increased price of cattle, and of 300 or 400 acres of inferior land occupied by a crowd of miserable cottiers. In accordance with the vote of the Colonial House of Commons, the former was exempt from the burden, which was thrown on the latter." Furthermore, England during a great part of the 18th century granted bounties on the export of corn from England, and in effect prohibited the importation of corn. These combined causes made tillage unprofitable in Ireland, killed agriculture, turned immense areas of the country into pasture, and forced emigration, with numerous evictions, famine and plague, among those unable from want of money to emigrate. Any Catholics who still had means enabling them to take farms of considerable size were precluded from tilling by the same causes and the additional reason that, after the Cromwellian "Settlement" they could not feel secure in land, were prevented by statute from taking leases except for short periods and subject to conditions which did not justify tilling, and which placed them at the mercy of any informer. As Lecky says: "Real enterprise and industry amongst the Catholic tenants was destroyed by the law which placed strict bounds to their progress by providing that, if their profits exceeded one-third of the rent, the first Protestant who proved the fact might take their farm." This forced such Catholics into the provision trade, and accounts for the large extent to which that trade was in their hands. The Atlantic trade, with the "plantations" (as the American colonies were then called) and the West Indies was the most profitable in which the Irish were able to engage, because of the facility of disposing of cargoes at good prices and getting saleable cargoes for the homeward voyage. Prosperity from this, as from every other source, was of short duration; for the sufficient reason that England could not endure that Ireland should become prosperous from any cause. Accordingly, an elaborate series of English statutes followed in sustained succession, completing each other in every conceivable detail, with the object of clearing Irish ships off the Atlantic and out of existence. See, for example, 22 and 23 Charles II. c. 26; 3 and 4 Anne, c. 5; 3 and 4 Anne, c. 10; 8 Geo. I. c. 15; Geo. I. c. 18; 2 Geo. II, c. 28. These

Acts enumerated every product of the Plantations and West Indies for which there was a home market, and prohibited Irish ships from importing them, except to England. They might then be shipped to Ireland. This would involve an additional expenditure of a quarter of the cost of the long voyage, double insurance, double commission, double port dues and double fees—amounting to a loss on the transaction. Some of the Acts also prohibited the exportation of Irish products to the Plantations or West Indies unless first landed in England; but this requirement seems to have been evaded in some way. This English legislation in effect prevented Ireland trading with the Plantations or West Indies except at a disadvantage intended to prevent her, and clearly illustrates how the legislation of a dominant country can control and destroy the trade and consequently the industries of a subject country, and how impotent a subordinate parliament in the latter is to prevent this. Also observe the moral inconsistency of at one and the same time ruling Ireland through a branch or agency of the English government as an English dominion, and yet enacting and enforcing such laws against England's own branch, agency, or dependency; treating Ireland not as a partner, dependency, colony or neutral country, or enemy country, but as a victim country. It is the treatment of an enemy country with the addition of the peculiar elements of deliberate persecution which international law would not allow in the case of an enemy country, but overlooks when practiced in the shelter of domesticity. This is important as a justification of our irreconcilability with the guilty country, which we know from living experience to be as guilty today as in the times of the statutes cited, and which still enforces the unfair conditions created by those statutes. We repeat and emphasize as a matter of constitutional importance affecting Ireland's restoration to her ancient place of sovereign independence the persistent treatment of Ireland as a victim country.

The Woollen Industry. As already mentioned, the Acts which prohibited and destroyed the Irish trade in cattle, with other causes, compelled the adoption of sheep-farming to an enormous extent and the growth of an Irish woollen manufacture. The treatment of this industry deserves very special attention as furnishing a characteristic example of England's treatment of a victim country. The woollen industry began with every promise and potency of success in a country famed for its sheep pastures and its superfluity of woollen and linen products ages before an English foot rested on Irish soil. Soil, climate, abundance and quality of wool, and the dexterity of the people combined to give ground for reasonable hope that the revived industry would surpass that of ancient days. These elements of success were the very things to awaken English vigilance and excite England's jealousy. England saw in such a project in Ireland only another opportunity, of which she availed, to inflict

a new injustice, this time the greatest and least defensible that any one country is known to have inflicted upon another in their peaceful commercial relations.

As early as 1545 an Act, 33 Henry VIII, c. 16, prohibited the importation of Irish wool into England. But the first deliberate blow at the Irish woollen industry and trade in goods manufactured from wool was the English Act of 1660, 12 Charles II, c. 4. This Act hit the English branch of the Irish trade in manufactured wool, but did not interfere with the foreign trade. Another Act of the same year, 12 Charles II, c. 32, and an Act of 1662, 14 Charles II, c. 18, made it felony, that is punishable with death, to export wool from Ireland anywhere but to England, and confiscated the ship and cargo, and goods and chattels of the master, if wool were brought into England except in the raw state on payment of a heavy duty. That was England's notion of fair dealing.

In 1697 a violent agitation was fomented in the centers of the woollen industry in England, alleging decay of trade owing to the increase of woollen manufacture in Ireland, and calling for the suppression of the latter, though none of it was going to England. As a result of this and the decision of the English Commissioners of Trade thereon, a bill was drafted and sent in January, 1698, to the colonial parliament in Ireland for enactment. That body for once hesitated to pass, at England's dictation, a measure conceived and drafted for the purpose of destroying Ireland's promising young industry. It had the negative courage to do nothing. The agitation in England was kept raging, and culminated in addresses from the English Lords and Commons to the king. The Lords represented to him that the growth of the Irish Woollen Industry and trade was so detrimental to the corresponding industry in England that unless promptly remedied it would necessitate "very strict laws to prohibit and suppress the same," and urged his majesty to represent to the Irish that if they turned to a linen industry instead "they shall receive all the countenance, favor and protection for the encouragement and promotion of the linen manufacture to all the advantages and profit they can be capable of." The Commons' address was similar, urging the king and all in his employment in Ireland "to make it their care and use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for discouraging the woollen manufacture and encouraging the linen manufacture in Ireland, *to which we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance.*" As Mr. Froude says: "The king replied briefly that the wish of parliament should be carried out; and Ireland was invited to apply the knife to her own throat:" *English in Ireland*, 1, 297. England's agents in Ireland gave similar assurances regarding practical encouragement to be given to a linen industry, provided the woollen were discontinued. No one cared what would become of the people if thus deprived of em-

ployment. One of the English pamphleteers had the Hunnish frankness to say that it would be "more advantageous to England by one-half to buy these goods and to throw them into the sea than to suffer Ireland to sell cheaper than we can in foreign markets." How like the England of today. The fact that the industry was carried on in the South, where Irish Catholics were still most numerous, intensified the English determination to stamp it out. Later in the same year, 1698, the colonial body called "Irish Parliament," at the second time of asking, after petty opposition on some finikin points, passed, by a majority of 64, the Act 10, William III, c. 5, Irish, a measure dictated by England in England's interest for the destruction of Ireland's new and promising industry and trade. It imposed an additional duty of four shillings per twenty shillings in value on broadcloth exported from Ireland; two shillings per twenty shillings in value on all manufacturers of the New Drapery except frieze, and so on. These duties were designed to be, and immediately proved to be, prohibitive and destructive of Ireland's staple industry at the time, and one of the most suitable industries she had ever undertaken.

Bearing in mind the circumstances of the time, one can estimate the vigor of the woolen industry from the statement of a contemporary writer that it was giving employment to 12,000 Protestant families in Dublin, and to 30,000 Protestant families in the rest of Ireland. They were, from the colonial point of view, the only people of real importance and worth considering. But a much larger number of Catholic families had taken up the industry so far as allowed, it being a domestic and congenial industry. The craven Irish Act which threw those people out of employment was followed in 1699 by the English Act, 10 and 11 William III, c. 10, as to the purpose of which there could be no ambiguity. It prohibited perpetually the exportation from Ireland of all goods made of or mixed with wool, except to England with the license of the Commissioners of Revenue; and the English prohibitory duties existing since 1660 were retained in force. Thus every door was barred and bolted, and the people of Ireland, commercially speaking, were marooned and imprisoned on their island as though they were lepers. Lecky says: "The English were still unsatisfied. The Irish woolen manufacturers had already been excluded by the Navigation Act from the whole colonial market; they had been virtually excluded from England herself by duties amounting to prohibition. A law of crushing severity enacted by the English Parliament in 1699 completed the work and prohibited the Irish from exporting their manufactured wool to *any country whatever*. So ended the fairest promise Ireland had ever known of becoming a prosperous and happy country. The ruin was complete and final." Subserviency had its reward in the most complete system of bondage ever devised by a hostile legislature; a great young in-

dustry destroyed, and a blow dealt at the prosperity of Ireland from which it was not afforded even a possibility of recovering until 1779. By that time the eighty intervening years of restrictions had done their work so thoroughly that recovery was not possible. The blow was one from which, owing to the continuance of foreign rule, Ireland still suffers. "Thus deprived of their export trade, and not having a home trade of sufficient extent to maintain their establishments, the Irish manufacturers emigrated, some to the Protestant States of Germany, where they founded manufactories for the celebrated Saxon Cloth—some, who were Catholics, to the North of Spain; and many, both Protestants and Catholics, to France, where they founded establishments at Rouen and other places, and were warmly received by Louis XIV., who guaranteed to the Protestants the free use of their religion, although he had previously revoked the edict of Nantes:" William Campbell, *Commentaries on Ireland*.

The Anglo-Irish lawyers whined that the last-mentioned English statute was unconstitutional and illegal, Ireland having at the time a legislature of her own. They had what pleased them to call a legislature; Ireland had none. The English Act of 1699 was neither more nor less legal than the Cattle and Navigation Acts and the numerous other English Acts whose purpose was to operate to the detriment of Ireland. A parliament which, when tested, had, at the bidding of England, basely betrayed the interests of the people it claimed to represent, and shown itself not alone subordinate but contemptible, had proved for all time the impotence and the danger of a subordinate parliament. The colonists who had made their petty parliament not Ireland's instrument but England's tool against Ireland in, for instance, making it felony for Irish Catholics—still four-fifths of the population—to educate their children, now found it made almost felony for themselves to exercise the skill of their own hands in a country they called their own. If there could be a lower depth for a parliament to reach, it was reached a few years later, when the parliament sent its wail to Queen Anne to relieve Ireland from the commercial depression which itself had been instrumental in causing. In 1719 the predominant parliament went further, and by the Declaratory Act of that year made all English statutes applicable to Ireland.

Many tragic results followed the wilful destruction of Ireland's woolen industry and trade, the most tragic and most usual being the general and severe distress of the people in town and country, reaching to widespread famine every decade or so; a result which continued for fully sixty years. Of this prolonged enforced hunger of a nation, the destruction of the woolen industry was the chief cause. But it was not allowed to operate alone. Other restraints upon Irish industries and trade were added from time to time, as often as any enterprise in Ireland showed vigor capable of success,

and Ireland was articulate only in a continual wail of anguish. When at last, in 1779, in obedience to a popular, not a parliamentary, demand the restraint upon trade was removed, the people had lost knowledge of and skill in the higher and more profitable branches of woollen and other manufactures; the countries they had been accustomed to supply now supplied themselves; the quality of Irish wool, like the skill of the people, had deteriorated from gross neglect; and the changed circumstances of country and people rendered immediate industrial revival not possible.

The Linen Industry. Strafford, Deputy of Charles I., in his letters urged the advisability of "introducing" a linen instead of a woollen industry in Ireland, remarking, as many other Englishmen did, on the suitability of the soil, water, climate, and the skill of the women, who were all brought up to spin, carefully omitting to state that it was English rule in the few preceding generations that had destroyed both the linen and the woollen industries in Ireland. His execution and the Cromwellian wars frustrated any scheme Strafford may have devised on the subject. No practical steps in that direction were taken until 1698, when William III. redeemed his promise by bringing over Louis Crommelin, a Huguenot refugee, who settled at Lisburn, within ten miles of Belfast, as the best place for establishing the proposed linen industry. Crommelin was appointed "Overseer of the Royal Linen Manufactory of Ireland," with suitable emoluments, patents, and some financial assistance. In 1705, the British parliament, on an urgent appeal from Ireland reminding them of their promise, gave their first and last encouragement to the Irish linen industry by the Act 3 and 4 Anne, c. 8, allowing Ireland to export, to the plantations only, her inferior brown and white linens only, not the best she could produce, which would have been the most profitable, England reserving to herself the exportation of high-class linens, of course without limit of destination. Further, Irish ships exporting the inferior linens were not relieved from the prohibition against bringing back any cargo to Ireland on the return voyage. There was not much time for the growth of a new industry within these narrow restrictions, when the Act 3, Geo. I, c. 21, made the foregoing statutory permission to export even the inferior linens conditional on British linens being allowed into Ireland duty free, while Irish linens sent to England were still subject to a duty amounting to prohibition. Reciprocity! This was how England kept her promise to "give the utmost assistance" to the new industry which she had forced Ireland to take up on the strength of that promise. The impotent colonial parliament saw no alternative but to submit to these hostile terms for the destruction of the linen industry, as they had submitted to the destruction of the woollen. That was the end of the promise of generous encouragement. But it was not the end of England's meddling with the Irish industry.

So timid and paralyzed was the colonial parliament from despotism without and corruption within that for more than forty years it did not venture to do even the little it could have done within its narrow range, until the famine of 1742 forced its hands. In 1743, when, as Lecky says, "the country had sunk into a condition of appalling wretchedness," the parliament began a series of useful measures and gave practical encouragement by bounties, prizes, and otherwise, to the linen, hempen and other industries; but when an attempt was made to extend the linen industry to Kilkenny and other suitable centers in the South, where Catholics formed a majority of the population and had been left without employment by the destruction of the woolen industry, the British Government peremptorily prevented any such extension, and its simulacrum in Dublin, whether willingly or not, enforced the prohibition. Thus the linen industry was confined to the North.

In 1750 the British parliament, finding that Ireland was supplying large quantities of sailcloth, canvas and cordage to the British and other navies and mercantile marines, took alarm, could not endure the continuance of such a profitable trade in Ireland, and enacted 23 Geo. II., c. 33, imposing heavy duties upon all such articles imported to Great Britain and granting bounties upon all kinds of hemp manufacture exported to Ireland or to other countries, thus dealing a deadly blow at the Irish hempen industry which had grown up as an adjunct to the linen. This statute, combined with economic and political pressure, forced Ireland to discontinue her bounties to her linen and hempen manufacturers, and to admit English bounty-fed sailcloth and canvas duty free! This enabled the British manufacturers to flood the Irish market with their goods, until within a short time the Irish hempen industry was almost extinct. The British parliament granted bounties on linens exported from England while withholding from the colonial parliament in Ireland power to pursue a like policy. When in these circumstances Irish manufacturers attempted to participate in the English bounties, by shipping their goods *via* English ports, they found that, so far as they were concerned, all the advantages of the bounties were swallowed up in the extra freight, insurance, factorage, loss of time and worry. Nevertheless, England, not feeling sufficiently protected by these intrinsic means, her parliament enacted in 1756 that "No Irish linen exported from England shall be entitled to a bounty if it were the property of a resident in Ireland." An Englishman was free to avail of the bounty, even on Irish linen, but not a "resident in Ireland." That was England's interest in the colonists that garrisoned Ireland for her. That was her illustration of the alleged common rights of fellow subjects. In addition to the direct national injury to Ireland by this permanent hostility of England to all Irish industries, it is important to remember that some of the best mechanics inevitably go from a

country where their craft is frowned upon and ill paid to one in which it receives adequate pay and every possible encouragement—to the permanent loss of the oppressed country. The result was that neither bounties nor any other form of encouragement that the colonial parliament was now capable of giving could make either lint-farming or linen industry pay. Though less suitable for Ireland, and consequently less profitable, than an unfettered woolen industry would have been, success could have been achieved in linen also under elementary fair terms from England. Whether it got fair terms the foregoing facts answer. “All that can be said for the monopolists is, that they tolerated the Irish linen trade for a time, as it did not clash with their interests, but as soon as they thought of manufacturing linen the spirit of monopoly was evoked and a law was passed prohibiting the importation of chequered, striped, printed, painted, stained or dyed linens, of the manufacture of Ireland and granting bounties on the exportation of such linens of the manufacture of England:” Campbell, *Commentaries on Ireland*.

William’s pledge supported by that of the English Lords and Commons and their agents in Ireland was, it is true, but a compact forced by England upon Ireland. According to what system of morality did that fact release England from keeping the compact it had forced upon, and which had been accepted on behalf of, Ireland, by the body which England maintained as an Irish parliament?

The Cotton Industry. The Act 7, Geo. I., c. 7, imposed penalties on any person using cotton goods in Great Britain unless made in Great Britain. The object and effect of this was to kill a cotton industry which Ireland was just then attempting to establish. The same English people who got their parliament to enact so, at a later period when the Irish people began to sign Non-Importation Agreements denounced those agreements as immoral! Let us now see exactly what those immoral agreements were. Agreements adopted by a society of ladies in Dublin in 1779, agreed to by all women throughout Ireland who desired to be considered patriotic, and thought by contemporaries to be one of the most important reasons for the extraordinary success of the men’s movement which it was intended to assist: “Resolved, that we will not wear any article that is not the product or manufacture of this country, and that we will not permit the addresses of any of the other sex who are not equally zealous in the cause of this country.” Dean Swift had attempted, about fifty years earlier, to set up such a movement, but found that he was in advance of his time.

The Glass Industry. It is common knowledge that some industries flourish in countries into which all the materials for them have to be imported. England herself is one of the greatest examples of this. Ireland is rich in many of the ingredients used in the manu-

facture of different kinds of glass, especially crown glass, for which kelp is essential. The Act 10, Geo. II., c. 12, prohibited the importation to Ireland of any glass unless of British manufacture. Glass of British manufacture being scarce and costly, the Irish began to make glass for themselves and for exportation. Several glass factories were set up, the principal one being at Birr, where, after some time, a great variety of glass was produced. The industry progressed so long as it was allowed to do so. This was only until its product began to compete successfully with English glass. Although there was no prospect of an increased glass industry in England, and it never grew beyond insignificant dimensions, yet the Act 19, Geo. II., c. 12, s. 14, prohibited Ireland from exporting glass *to any country whatever*. This illustrates how completely a subordinate parliament may be ignored and the country it pretends to represent injured. It also illustrates the difference between the treatment of an enemy and of a victim country. Further, it and the whole commercial policy of England towards Ireland illustrates what England subsequently denounced in Ireland as exclusive dealing or boycotting, the very essence of her own policy. The glass manufacture could never have become a staple industry like the woollen; but the principle involved in its arbitrary destruction by an outside power was the same, with this difference that the gain to England by that act of despotism was so paltry as to be contemptible. Here was an industry which Ireland might have been allowed to practice without competing with any appreciable English industry. Can any Englishman, can any man suggest any reason for the wilful destruction of this Irish industry other than malignancy? The rapidity with which the revived glass industry progressed in Waterford when the restrictions were removed a generation later enables us to estimate the considerable dimensions to which a glass industry in Ireland might have grown in the first instance if allowed.

Perhaps some of those supercharitable persons who say that the English Government never meant to be unjust will explain the singular and uniform accuracy with which it always did the unjust thing to Ireland, whatever it may have meant. The system of foreign rule which combines the joint methods of direct extermination from the land and indirect extermination by the economic pressure of commercial restrictions, and which has produced the ghastly results set forth under these heads, still persists, changed in form as these results themselves necessitated, but in essence, in spirit, and in purpose the same. Express statutory restrictions on Irish industries and trade are no longer necessary, *because they have done their work, paralyzed Ireland, and in their effects keep her paralyzed so long as the connection with England lasts*. That is the only reason why restrictive statutes are no longer resorted to. The system set up in Ireland is doing England's work effectively as it

stands. The examples given could be duplicated in every department of English rule. As no one is so blind as one who will not see, so no government is so bad as a government resolved to be bad. If anyone doubts this as regards industries, let him try, or watch the trial of, an attempt to found any new industry having the elements of success. He will soon find himself, as the writer of this has found himself, in a maze of difficulties created by the English Government agency; and an appeal to an English Minister will elicit, in substance, if not in words, the answer that my attempt elicited, namely, "Ireland must be kept to agriculture," the irony of the situation being that the same system of government which thus warns Ireland off from a free choice of industries has cleared the Irish people off, and keeps them off, the parts of the country where the soil is most suitable for agriculture. Thus we are checked and fettered in every direction. Should the doubt relate to commerce, he has only to remember how, so late as 1913, the English Government allowed an English shipping company to break its contract and cease calling at Queenstown Harbor on its Atlantic voyages and then forbade the Hamburg-Amerika company to allow its ships to call there instead. The permanent policy of England is to keep Ireland weak, to kill industries in order to make Ireland a market for English products and things England commands. If that policy be indefensible in the large, as herein set out, it is still less defensible in the details of administration, each of which, set out by itself, would appear trivial, but all of which are breaches of a great principle and, operating together, affect the daily lives of the whole Irish population and force them to break all natural ties and fly out of their country.

"Is it not then a bitter satire on the mode on which opinions are formed on the more important problems of human nature and life, to find public instructors of the greatest pretensions imputing the backwardness of Irish industry and the want of energy of the Irish people in improving their conditions to a peculiar indolence and insouciance of the Celtic race? Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences in the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences:" John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, II, 392.

"Of all the oppressions with which your England had afflicted this country, there was not one which, by means however various, did not tend towards a common end; and whether you proscribed her religion or warred upon her morals; whether you engulfed her in apathy, or provoked her to rebellion; whether you assailed her with confiscations or withheld from her her rights; whether with plenary authority and the bell, book and candle of the State, you passed an interdict on her for ages, and committed her to darkness and the blank of outlawry; or imparted to her the perfidious and

terrible gift of laws restricting her legally from civil and religious privileges when these first asserted themselves; from property, when property was enfranchised; from education, when knowledge moved abroad; from commerce, when commerce became a power in the world; the tendency of your versatile policy continued unchanged, and its result has been the reduction of this land to poverty:" Aubrey de Vere, *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds*.

VII.

Ireland is Financially Able to Discharge the Duties of an Independent State.

The Peace Congress has a right to be assured of Ireland's financial ability to discharge the duties of an independent State; and although this, being an inherent right in possession, might have been set forth under that heading, we deem it more satisfactory to keep it separate, concurring with Burke in our estimate of its importance: "As all great qualities of the mind which operate in public, and are not merely suffering and passive, require force for their display, the revenue, which is the spring of power, becomes in its administration the sphere of every active virtue. Public virtue, being of a nature magnificent and splendid, instituted for great things, and conversant about great concerns, requires abundant scope and room, and cannot spread and grow under confinement, and in circumstances straitened, narrow and sordid. Through the revenue alone the body politic can act in its true genius and character, and therefore it will display just as much of its collective virtue, and as much of that virtue which may characterize those who move it, and are, as it were, its life and guiding principle, as it is possessed of a just revenue. For from hence not only magnanimity and liberality and beneficence, fortitude and providence, and the tutelary protection of all good arts, derive their food and growth of their organs, but continence and self-denial and labor and vigilance and frugality, and whatever else there is in which the mind shows itself above the appetite, are nowhere more in their proper element than in the provision and distribution of public wealth."

Ireland is, in consequence of her wealth and natural resources generally, in a better position to discharge the duties of an independent State than are some existing small independent States, with whose public wealth comparisons may be drawn from the information about to be submitted. England, which ought to know, reports differently. As all England's reports of Ireland are different from the facts, so is this; and since her statesmen do know the facts on this subject, and report contrary to them, we leave the Congress to draw the conclusion. Whether Ireland is rich or poor is an important concern for the Irish people; should not be for England any more than for any other country. But we may examine the subject on its merits, and incidentally England's affected altruism. If one of the most fertile countries in Europe be really too poor to undertake the responsibilities of an independent States, the facts set forth in this Statement show the cause of the poverty.

Many a nation larger and of greater pretensions would have long since succumbed and disappeared under the tyranny under which Ireland has groaned. Ireland on the contrary, has in the process shown that she was possessed of more natural wealth than several of the independent States of Europe, and was spending more annually on her subjection than some of those States spend in the maintenance of their independence. The British Government knows this from the amount of money brought into their Treasury out of Ireland continually since they entered our country, and they know it with regard to the past on authority not refutable by them—the authority of their own expert financial commissioners appointed by themselves. As the misrepresentation of Ireland in this respect proceeds only from England, the most conclusive method of showing what Ireland's financial resources are is to set forth England's financial gains from Ireland, and the amount of financial injustice practised upon Ireland, that is, the amount of money that is gone to England from Ireland in excess of what the administration should cost. Ireland could be efficiently governed, administered and defended at the present time on a gross annual expenditure of £10,000,000. Any greater expenditure is due to the cost of repression and extravagance inseparable from foreign rule. Ireland is at present being taxed for the benefit of England at the rate of £40,000,000 a year. This is at once a monstrous injustice and a conclusive proof of the proposition of this section.

Every material injustice to a country is in a sense a financial injustice. Most of those set forth under other heads in this Statement produced, and are still producing, vast financial consequences. But for convenience we will in this place confine ourselves to actual money transactions. Full justice of restitution to Ireland would require a beginning at some of the historical epochs, such as the Battle of Kinsale or the Battle of the Boyne. For brevity and verifiable accuracy we confine ourselves to the period from the year 1800 to the present time. The general objects of the Act of Union of that year were political, financial and fraudulent; to be achieved, not by a multiplicity of statutes as previously, but by one comprehensive scheme of destroying and permanently preventing Ireland trading with any country but England; destroying and permanently preventing Irish manufactures; making Ireland dependent for as many of her requirements as possible upon England and other countries through England only; union and amalgamation of customs and abolition of tariffs between Ireland and England, in order that as soon as the different circumstances of the two countries rendered it possible, the taxes in both countries should be assimilated, and Ireland should thus be compelled to pay, in addition to her own requirements, a large sum towards the maintenance of the huge imperial establishment and its vast commerce in which she should have no share. Her knowledge of imperial greatness was

to be, and actually is, limited to knowledge of the enormity of the burden placed upon her for its maintenance; in other words, the cost of her own ruin. The fraudulent object of the Union was to deprive Ireland of control of the accounts of her own public money; so that she should be constantly drained without being able to ascertain until some years subsequently, and then only from England's accountants, what her current taxation and expenditure were; that she might, from the pressure of other grievances, not pay close attention to this one: and that she should never be in a position to command a clear balance sheet of her revenue and expenditure down to any recent date. The obliteration by these means of every trace of nationality and of sentiment connected therewith was the political object of the Union.

The essential economic differences between the two countries made assimilation of taxes impracticable except by degrees. It has been carried out at intervals since; in every case hitting Ireland severely. In pursuance of this policy, in 1819, the duty on unmanufactured tobacco was raised from one shilling to three shillings per pound, and that on manufactured tobacco from one shilling to sixteen shillings. This killed at one stroke an attempt then being made in Ireland to found a new industry of growing and manufacturing tobacco. The stamp and tea duties were also increased, but not so heavily. The next substantial increase was in 1853, when the income tax was first imposed upon Ireland—an imposition condemned as unjust by every English body since set up to examine the subject of the taxation of Ireland. The disastrous effect upon Ireland, an agricultural country, of the repeal of the English corn laws has been mentioned in a preceding section, and is a classic illustration, first, of the immense financial result of a law having a different primary purpose, and, secondly, of how a dominant country can, and does, enrich itself at the expense of a subject country, apart from taxation, and justify itself on the plea of equality of treatment.

In 1896 a Financial Relations Commission, consisting of eleven British members and four Irish, whose investigations did not extend further back than 1800, and therefore did not reach to the most glaring cases of injustice set forth in this Statement, after two years spent examining statistics and witnesses, found and reported that Ireland had been since the Union paying one-twelfth part of the whole expenditure of the "United Kingdom," whereas according to her comparative taxable capacity she should bear at most only one-twenty-first part; so that she had contributed during the period an annual taxation of at least £2,750,000 in excess of even the British estimate of her due proportion. This is set forth in a blue-book published by the British Government. Any British statesman who, in the face of this official British evidence alleges that Ireland would be unable to maintain and defend herself as an independent state, knows he is alleging an untruth. It has been calcu-

lated on the system adopted by the Commissioners that this excessive taxation from 1800 to 1914 amounted to an aggregate of about £400,000,000, to which must now be added the enormous increase occasioned by the war. For example the total taxation of Ireland in 1913, the last year before the war, was, in round figures, £11,000,000; and this included the general average of excess—£2,750,000—which has never been adjusted. As a result of the war, the present taxation of Ireland is at the rate of £40,000,000 a year. A great purpose of striving to prolong the connection is to compel Ireland to pay England's war debt.

Let it be distinctly understood, the £400,000,000 excessive taxes from 1800 to 1914 was expenditure in excess of what the foreign government of Ireland had actually cost during that period, therefore a net profit to England; and that the government being foreign, and against the will of the people, was, as such governments always are, more expensive and less productive than native government would have been. How indisputably true were Grattan's words: "Ireland, like every enslaved country, will ultimately be compelled to pay for her own subjugation." In presence of these facts, officially ascertained, it is a gross display of either ignorance or malice to talk about the "mystery" of Ireland's continued decay and poverty side by side with England's ever-growing prosperity. The figures account for one reason why England's prosperity ever grows. The only real mystery in the case is, how Ireland has survived such iniquitous rule. Her survival is clearly due to the extraordinary wealth of her resources and industry of her people, which England wants to continue appropriating. What the figures prove for the present purpose is, that a country which has paid out this vast sum of money without return, in addition to what the actual government of the country has cost, could, at the present rate of taxation, rule, administer and defend herself on the same scale as Holland, Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, and have a handsome balance to spend on her urgent purposes of industrial and other development. At the present time England is extracting from Ireland an annual revenue of more than 27,000,000 pounds for imperial purposes over and above what efficient government and defence of Ireland should cost. So much for the public drain of money from Ireland.

Many attempts have been made to calculate the gross amount of money drawn from Ireland to England through all the numerous channels such as rents to absentee landlords, tithes to absentee clergymen, salaries and pensions to absentee officials, enormous law costs, paid in London in cases which should properly have been dealt with in Ireland, and so on, without any return whatever. All this directly diminishes the wealth of one country for the benefit of the other, without anything in the nature of exchange. The late Mr. O'Neill Daunt, an able and scrupulous investigator who devoted many years of his life to the study of this subject, says: "The aggre-

gate drains of income have been estimated by careful inquiries to amount to 13,000,000 pounds per annum." This would amount to 1,300,000,000 pounds drawn out of Ireland to England in the 19th century. Certain items included in this have disappeared, and others are disappearing; but since fresh items as heavy are taking their place, the gross sum continues approximately correct. It is an insult, as well as an untruth, to say that a country which has borne all the foregoing burdens for the benefit of a wealthy neighbor, would be unable to pay her own way if freed from that neighbor.

Having regard to the destruction of her industries, her trade, and her people by that neighbor, to all the forms of misgovernment to which Ireland has been subjected, to her consequent backward condition as compared with self-ruled countries, and to the very large sum of money necessary to enable her to recover lost ground and overtake in the race of progress free countries with which in other respects she is comparable, and differing from England in having neither power nor desire that any other people should pay our way, we are, even though able to pay our way, unable to pay reparation charges, and clearly entitled, in accordance with international law, and the practice of Great States, to restitution of the money found by a British Royal Commission to be due to us, and to reparation for the damage inflicted upon us by English rule.

If asked by the Peace Congress to accept less than the full amount, we would, for the sake of severing the ruinous connection with England, for the sake of peace, and for the sake of obtaining an international guarantee that our independence shall be respected, accept from England in full and final discharge of her debt to us the sum of 500,000,000 pounds.

VIII.

Ireland is Fit and Prepared to Resume the Responsibilities, Internal and External, of an Independent State.

As in other departments, so in this, the best way to show our ability to resume the responsibilities of independence is to submit an account of the efforts of our enemy—England—to keep us unfit and unprepared. That efforts for such a purpose have been made, that they have been elaborated with the utmost ingenuity and unscrupulousness, and that they have to be renewed continually and persistently, attests more conclusively than other evidence could possibly do, English hostility on the one side, and on the other the extraordinary vitality and energy of those Irish attributes and qualities of a self-sufficient nation claimed in the earlier sections of this Statement; since the mere suppression of them requires this enormous expenditure of the force of a mighty empire. The evidence has this further advantage that, being furnished unintentionally by the enemy, its authenticity is unquestionable; and the enemy is specially estopped from denying it. All this is conclusively demonstrated by the facts of each department we have touched upon. The effort, unsurpassed in history, to exterminate the whole Irish nation, by direct expulsion from the land has proved more conclusively than anything else could do Ireland's fertility in manpower. The huge and persistent effort to destroy Irish commerce has proved more conclusively than anything else could do the ability of an independent Ireland to become a commercial country. The huge and persistent effort to prevent us having any manufacturing industries, and to destroy such as we venture to found, has proved more conclusively than anything else could do the ability of an independent Ireland to become an industrial country. The elaborate mechanism by which England has despoiled us of our money and her rich and continued success therein, has proved more conclusively than anything else could do that Ireland is a country of rare natural resources, and that, with these secured to her by independence, she would be a prosperous country. The effort to brutalize us by proscribing our religion and civilization, and using the power of a mighty empire to misrepresent and malign us to the outer world, proves more conclusively than anything else could do that an independent Ireland would be a considerable civilizing and progressive factor in the world. So it would be with any other department we might choose to examine. Indeed, why should it be otherwise in Ireland or any other intelligent nation? Who knows the needs and aptitudes of any country better than its own people? Has England

monopolized the good sense of the world, as well as its money? She once thought her American "plantations" incapable of ruling themselves. If she were not deficient in some way, she would remember the lesson then taught her. It is consummate insolence to assume that this nation is incapable of discerning and providing for its own interests. It would be impossible for native government to rule so badly as this Statement shows England to have ruled Ireland; unless the Irish were a lawless people. England's own statistics with reference to Ireland prove that, so far from being lawless, they are the most law-abiding people in Europe and the freest from what is universally recognized as crime, but incurably addicted to manifestations of patriotism, of which England is an admirer in countries not subject to herself, but which she treats as crime in Ireland. Like rational people, we aim at a government responsive to our principles, needs and instincts, as only a native government ever can be. As Burke observes: "The people have no interest in disorder." Foreign rulers frequently have. In this connection we have merely to prolong the chain of accumulative evidence to the goal of showing the permanence of the English rule which Macaulay attributed to the 18th century only, "Its misery was necessary to our happiness and its slavery to our freedom." Not then alone, but throughout the last 350 years has England treated Ireland as if its misery were necessary to her happiness. Most English politicians absolve their own generation at the expense of those that preceded it; a cheap salve for external consciences, having no such faculty of their own. England's permanent policy is to make and keep Ireland unfit for any useful purpose of her own, or for any purpose but that of a victim to be plundered and exploited for England's benefit. No country was ever created for a purpose so vile. We maintain that Ireland was not.

Ireland stands to-day provided with a full staff capable and ready to assume and discharge with credit all the duties incumbent upon her as an independent State in all its departments, civil, military, financial, and judicial, in the form of a democratic republic, reviving in some respects the ancient Gaelic polity; competent to maintain national and personal liberty, national and personal property and security, to bring Ireland back under her own law, which she will not merely obey but respect and love, as in the distant past. For obvious reasons, the details of our constitution, the personnel of our provisional government, and our plans generally cannot be disclosed until England's power of destruction in Ireland has been broken.

In these circumstances, perhaps the department most appropriate for illustrating in this section England's destructive policy is that by means of which she destroyed our ancient polity and has prevented the substitution of any other on a national basis—that covered by the imperialistic motto, Divide and Rule. Wise Eng-

land has been in making it her motto and permanent guide. An undivided Ireland no outside power could ever rule or hold. First England sent one Iago to whisper poison into the ears of one Irish chief against his neighbor, and another Iago to the neighboring chief for a like purpose. When the human consequences followed, she played the umpire or supported a competitor of her choice or acted otherwise as her selfish interests prompted, and carefully slandered both sides to the outer world. So she acted from end to end of the country, and from year to year, changing the details according to local or current circumstances. Whenever she thought her colony strong enough, her game was modified, but always the same in principle. When by continuous practice of those arts her power had become dominant in the land, she gladly annexed to her armoury the abused name of religion, interpreted only by that anti-thesis of Christianity—unreasoning and undying hatred among neighbors; made her colony her tool in the practice of this on the Irish nation; retaining in her own hands power over that tool, until to her horror she saw a danger of its reconciliation and amalgamation with the Irish nation. Well knowing that this would be disastrous to her, England resolved that it should not be. Reconciliation, harmony, amalgamation were the things she feared in Ireland beyond all others, the things by which her grip of Ireland would soon be broken; the things the success of which would be the dawn of Irish independence, prosperity and happiness. Hence the profession of Iago is a permanent and indispensable part of the English government of Ireland.

From the invasion down to modern times there has always been this essential difference between the attitude of the Irish and that of the colonists: the former having been always described as the "Irish enemies," had no option but to smile and return the compliment, *sans phrase*; to the latter England was always the Mother Country, no matter how ill she treated them. The same difference still exists, with this modification, that many people of English or other outside extraction now stand with and as part of the Irish nation, and may feel and do feel quite assured of an honored and efficient place in our new constitution; while on the other hand some degenerate bearers of Irish names have, for immediate personal gain, joined the pro-English faction. At no time in that whole history did all the colonists and pro-English together equal the Irish in numbers, not even after the Cromwellian massacres. No person in Ireland to-day supports English rule who is not paid for it directly, indirectly, or prospectively. English rule in Ireland has no support but hired support. In no country in Europe, whether free or unfree, is there greater unanimity among the people for independence than in Ireland. But a minority having the control of the machinery of government, of the garrisons, and of the resources of the country, and an outside power to fall back upon, once given

by that power ascendancy over a disarmed nation, can maintain that ascendancy, at the price, however, of its own continued subserviency to the outside power. It can never itself become an independent nation except by abandonment of its ascendancy and union and fusion with the nation. After the destruction of the Irish polity, the ruin and suppression of the nation, and the permanent planting of sufficient English, backed by armed force, not subject to any civilized restraint, the increased foreign colony began to dominate the nation, leaning for support upon and acting as the instrument of the outside power; suffering grievances itself and fearing to resent them lest it should lose mastery of the nation which lay at its feet and whose property it had appropriated. Thus a major and minor oppression were in progress in Ireland concurrently. The nation was treated brutally by the foreign power acting both directly and through the colonial instrument. The colony was being oppressed in a minor, still severe and humiliating degree by the same foreign power for which it was oppressing the nation. Forced by a long course of this treatment and by the appalling misery which it had been instrumental in bringing upon Ireland, encouraged by the example of the American colonies, and conscious of the opportunity which England's difficulty afforded, the colonist volunteers of the 18th century began to move towards a conception of national independence. That is as high as their declarations enable one to put it; and that is how they were understood by the Catholics at the time. Not being blinded by corruption or office, they recognized that for any such purpose, emancipation of, and amalgamation with, the Catholics of Ireland was a *conditio sine qua non*. Consequently, in February, 1782, 143 delegates from the whole body of the Ulster volunteers assembled in the Protestant Church of Dungannon, and adopted important resolutions, one of which, not so familiar to the public as the rest, is relevant to the present subject: "We hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves. Resolved, therefore, that, as men and Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the unity and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." Overtures in this sense, so congenial to the Irish, met with a prompt and generous response. England had driven her colonists on both sides of the Atlantic to lay aside factitious differences and unite against her as the common enemy. As the Viceroy, the Duke of Portland, wrote at the time, it was no longer the parliament of Ireland which had to be managed; it was the whole country. "The spirit of mutual toleration was considered by the English government as extremely formidable; and it employed all its policy to destroy it, and revive the old religious and national animosities." Augustine Thierry, *Norman*

Conquest, II, 356. Hitherto England had based her power in Ireland on keeping the colonists and the nation apart and at enmity, in order to keep both weak, that she might plunder and oppress both. The unexpected union of both, while it lasted, diminished England's power for mischief, and gave the united Irish their only chance of liberty. England knew this much better than they did, having just learned the lesson from the North American colonies. Therefore she increased her agents and machinery and increased their activity to prevent a repetition of that lesson in Ireland, by destroying the new unity and with it all it meant of good for Ireland, of disappointment for England. To divide became imperative if she would continue to rule. With the aid of her myriad agents and expenditure of uncounted money, extracted from Ireland, she soon succeeded in having the volunteers disbanded and measures taken successfully to reverse the policy of Dungannon and revive that degrading bitterness to which she prostitutes the name and complicity of religion; the perpetuation of which bitterness is England's last bulwark in Ireland. Nor can we wonder much at her success then, witnesses as we are of her success in our own 20th century in finding "a man, an Irishman, a Christian and a Protestant" founder and chief of a body bearing the sacred name of Ulster Volunteers, without any intervening history to justify the change, devoting his considerable ability to reversing the Christian policy of Dungannon, and, in England's interest and to Ireland's detriment and shame, advising and promoting perpetual animosity and estrangement between these two sections of the inhabitants of Ireland, who would have been assimilated in generous friendship long ago if only let alone. England cannot afford to let them alone, because it would mean the loss of Ireland to her.

We pity those successors of the colonists, victims of evil advisers, but we do not implore them to join us. Why should we? We do not tempt them with promises of any special benefit or privilege if they do join us. Why should we? We are not going to seek reforms, but to free our country, and we offer them the privilege, sufficient for men worthy of freedom, of joining us in that noble work on absolutely equal terms. That is a proposition worthy of men who are themselves worthy of such a cause. To offer them special advantages would be an offensive suggestion that they were not patriots. If they are not, we do not even desire them; if they are they will join us on terms of brotherly equality. Ireland's claim is emphatically not one which any conceivable legislative reform under England's control could satisfy. The historical facts submitted herein establish this abundantly. They are submitted for the further reason that a bare assertion without historical vouching would be scarcely credible; and further still that knowledge of them will be salutary for other nations as well as for Ireland. It is from foreign rule Ireland needs and claims release, ir-

respective of the quality of the rule. Foreign rule imposed upon an unwilling nation is itself a breach of international law and justice, and an international wrong justifying resistance to it, even if the rule were good. The particular forms, extent and duration of oppression—terrible though we have shown them to be—are rendered of secondary importance by the scope of our claim for sovereign independence. They merely go to enhance the national wrong and more than justify resistance to it and determination to bring it to an end. They merely increase the unanimity for freedom and strip England of all but hired support. We deny that any country other than Ireland herself has, or can ever have or acquire, a right to rule Ireland. We complain of the quality of the rule only as an aggravation of the thing indefensible in itself, and showing that it is equally so in practice as in principle; above all, as being foreign interference with our affairs and contravention of our national right. Furthermore the evil intentions and mischievous results of English rule are evidence of such a spirit, so essentially dangerous to mankind, that it is due to all nations to be informed, in order that they may be on their guard against a State animated by such a disposition.

Every operative law connotes a corresponding right. A nation's obligations and duties, whether contracted or necessarily arising from its conduct or the requirements of international law or of humanity, are held to continue, irrespective of any change of government, voluntarily made by the nation, and cannot be repudiated by it. A necessary corollary of this is, that a nation's rights also continue, irrespective of any change in the government, and, *a fortiori*, irrespective of a change of government forced upon the nation from outside. Therefore Ireland's right to sovereign independence continues unimpaired.

For all reasons, of which those set forth in this Statement are examples, Ireland's ancient *status* as a sovereign State, the sum of all her rights, is unimpaired and ripe for independence and international recognition.

IX.

Ireland is Entitled to the Right, Common to Nations and Persons, of Self-Preservation Against England's Policy of Extermination.

From the middle of the 16th century when the bold policy of exterminating the whole Irish nation by the sword or by famine was commended to and graciously adopted by King Henry VIII of England, down to the present day, two fundamental questions for the Irish nation have been, first, whether it is entitled to self-preservation; and, secondly, whether the country—Ireland—with all it comprises, belongs to the Irish nation or to the English Government. Though no Peace Congress, and no honest person could have any doubt as to the true answers to these elementary questions, to settle them has all that time been, and still is the cause of the perpetual war between the English government and the Irish nation. Throughout all that time England has adhered in practice to the policy of extermination, normally alternating between the sword and State-created famine; occasionally plying both concurrently. From the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, State-produced famine has been the continuous normal policy, reaching its highest development within living memory in Queen Victoria's reign, and still in operation in the milder form of emigration forced by economic pressure. We shrink from stating more of the harrowing particulars of famine and eviction than will be found in the section on man-power, where the result of that policy is shown to be that of a race now numbering 30,000,000, only a remnant of about 4,000,000 remains in Ireland.

National as well as individual character is tested by suffering and proved by surmounting difficulties. What nation has been tested as Ireland has been? That there is an Irish nation in existence to-day, in spite of England, is a marvel of the age. We feel that the character also exists. That is the foundation of our hope. History tells of other victim countries. It also tells that a victim country which survives oppression, and retains sufficient vitality and vigor to demand independence, will make either an excellent member of the family of nations, or a dangerous country to exclude from that family and attempt to keep it in the position of a victim. Unprovoked tyranny stuns and terrifies; and sometimes escapes immediate punishment. Retribution may be postponed. "Judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed some day or two; some century or two; but it is sure as life, it is as sure as death:" *Carlyle*. We have no desire to be the instrument of the just judgment upon

England; but a strong desire not to be; for that judgment must be terrible. Apart from whatever of voluntary good we may be able to do for others, our definite objects are *Sinn Fein*—Ourselves. The continuance of foreign despotism becomes unsafe when the victim nation's heart is wrung with the record of the destruction of all that is dearest to her. When she sees with her own eyes and knows with her own reason that she can escape the utter destruction to which her foreign oppressor has doomed her only by a supreme effort the moment her opportunity arises, to make that effort becomes the imperative duty of all who bear her name, making the gentle fierce, and even the timid brave. All foreign rule is unjust. The right to resist injustice is indestructible. All foreign rule is slavery. The duty of resisting foreign rule is incumbent on all who ought not to be enslaved. This is the test of character self-applied by each individual; English rule of Ireland being foreign, unjust, and slavery, is destructive as well, has destroyed, is destroying, and has doomed the Irish nation to utter destruction. That is its distinguishing note. The case is urgent in the last degree. Why need this be said, when the facts force the conviction upon whoever thinks at all?

According to international law, the right of self-preservation is the first law of nations as of persons. It is prior and paramount to even that of territorial inviolability; and where they conflict, international law justifies the maintenance of the former at the expense of the latter right. As a consequential part of this right of self-preservation, a nation's sovereign independence and her purpose to achieve or maintain it, as the case may be, should be constantly and publicly announced and firmly maintained before the world, on account of possible designs against it by any neighboring nation. No nation can ever have, or acquire, a right to destroy another nation either directly by the sword or by famine, or any other process, or to prescribe what means a nation so menaced shall or shall not employ, or when or how it shall employ them, for its self-preservation, or to require any account whatever of the nation's conduct or proposed conduct in this respect; and a nation so menacing another, and attempting any such restraint, or inquisition, is already guilty of the destruction of that nation, and the supreme transgression of international law. All means that do not affect the independence of other nations are lawful for a nation to employ for its self-preservation. In the case of a nation in bondage and menaced with destruction as Ireland premanently is, where the bondage and the destruction proceed from the same source, the struggle for self-preservation and for independence is the same. Independence, and nothing less, would be self-preservation. The inherent right of a nation to rebel against a destructive outside power is the natural expression of the right of self-preservation, and becomes a duty when the conditions afford a possibility of success. The enforcement of a policy of destruction is ample justification, in

morality as well as according to international law, for the adoption of any means necessary for self-defense and self-preservation, necessarily including rebellion as the most obvious means. The conditions of success may easily lurk incalculable in a combination of circumstances on both sides, such as the opportuneness of attack, the weakness or other occupation or temporary blunder of the foe, or the inscrutable decrees of Providence. Rebellion is always just when it has for its object the rescue of a nation from a destroying power; the reparation of a national wrong which by its nature continues and festers while that power lasts; the restoration of friendly relations with other States estranged by that power; the release of the faculties and resources of the nation from that power for its own people; and the establishment of security against future aggression by that power. All these conditions exist together in the case of Ireland. A nation whose country has been repeatedly ravaged by an outside power, and is, in the interest of that power, kept perpetually in a ravaged condition; and is, in the interests of that power, restrained from assuming any other condition; denied the exercise of her elements of progress in any direction whether on the national or the local scale; stripped of her resources mostly for foreign purposes antagonistic to her; denied control of the 43 administrative boards planted in her midst by England for England's purposes, and of her money spent on their maintenance; manifestly such a nation is being deliberately robbed and destroyed, and owes to herself the urgent duty of self-preservation. Ireland is so situated. Unvarying experience convinces us that continual misery and consequent decay and revolt are inseparable from foreign rule; and that rule itself, as a condition of its own maintenance, making national resuscitation impossible; and that the destruction of the nation or the destruction of the foreign rule over it are the only alternative remedies. Between forces so diametrically opposed, not temporarily, but permanently, where every pretence of adjustment and reconciliation has been used by England, as it is now being used, as a new trap for the increase of aggression and deception, reconciliation is quite impossible, and sovereign independence the only remedy. Either the power that is destroying Ireland must triumph and the Irish nation cease to exist, or that power must be eliminated from Ireland. The Irish nation is immortal and cannot cease to exist. A nation animated with that spirit is at once indestructible and irreconcilable with slavery. As the continuous policy of destruction has in the past made the duty of rebellion continuous, so the Irish people are determined it shall be until the destructive power is wholly expelled. To allow such an unequal and deadly contest to drift indefinitely, with its chronic toll of human misery and periodical toll of human life, would be to allow continuous turmoil and in effect to adopt the side of the strong party, contrary to the merits of the dispute. To put Ireland's right at the

very lowest, surely an international Congress of civilized States owes the common duty of justice and humanity to save an historic nation from an otherwise interminable policy of extermination.

X.

Ireland has Rightly Asserted Her Right in Armed Insurrection in 1916.

People not sufficiently interested to give due consideration to the matter may suppose that a military failure cannot corroborate a right to the object for which the military effort had been made; and all worshippers of wealth and success, and despisers of failure, irrespective of merit, eagerly concur with them. The approval of this latter class we do not desire, because it would be *prima facie* evidence of some flaw. To the first-mentioned class we would observe that the matter is not quite so simple; that the greatest failure in history has been the greatest moral success; that there have been instances of a similar phenomenon in mundane affairs; that faith in a cause intrinsically good, proved by the courage to fight against overwhelming odds, even to the supreme sacrifice of life, commands universal admiration, may be admirable in the degree of probability of failure, and therefore strengthens the claim to the object of the effort. This sufficient reason has also the support of international precedent. Greece sustained a military defeat in her last rebellion against Turkey; and yet was, in consequence of that effort, recognized by England and other European States, and in virtue of that recognition obtained her independence. On the other hand, those who dispute the proposition of this section do so in the name of some law, forgetful of the fact which must always be remembered that it is not by law or justice or reason, but only by force and fraud, Ireland has been subdued and is kept in subjection. Since force and fraud can neither confer a right nor legalise a usurpation, those who employ them have no appeal to law or to anything but more force and more fraud; and that is precisely their situation in Ireland. As Burke says: "The use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity for subduing again, and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered."

Any government which is not responsible to the people governed, and in some way under their control, is unconstitutional and inevitably becomes a tyranny. At best, a condition of which we have no experience in Ireland, it must lead those conducting it into ignorance of the people's grievances, with the natural consequence of failure to remedy them. As Franklin wrote of American governors, "Their office makes them intolerant, their indolence makes them odious, and being conscious that they are hated, they become malicious. Their malice urges them to continual abuse of the in-

habitants in their letters to Administration, representing them as disaffected and rebellious, and (to encourage the use of severity) as weak, divided, timid, and cowardly." That product of a young polity was angelic compared with the regular product of an inveterate system of corruption. We have mentioned some instances of English recognition of Irish national distinctions. Perhaps the most significant of all is the negative recognition involved in the entire absence from the English mind, official and unofficial, of any recognition of responsibility to Ireland. To any free man, such an attitude, on the part of a State boasting freedom and intelligence, is scarcely conceivable. To the English, straight from reading in any one of their standard text books, that a government which is not responsibly to the people governed is not constitutional, fully concurring in that doctrine, nay, enforcing it at the edge of the sword, the idea of English responsibility to Ireland never seems to enter their minds. How they manage to keep logic and practice in direct antagonism, and expect that, for their convenience, free and intelligent people will do the same, we do not undertake to explain. We merely state the fact, which may be verified any day. Illustrations of this hypocrisy are too numerous and too humiliating even to expose. One of the latest examples must suffice. Take the proclamation issued by the representatives of England at Bagdad on the 19th March, 1917: "O People of Bagdad! Remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants, who have ever endeavored to set one Arab house against another, in order that they might profit by your dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her Allies, for there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment. . . . Since the days of Halaka your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation, and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking; your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men, and squandered in distant places. . . ." So much alike tyranny seems to be at Bagdad and in Ireland that the tyrants of Bagdad would appear to have imitated the tyrants of Ireland; and the British authors were peculiarly qualified for writing this proclamation. Or take the official utterance of Lord Robert Cecil, representing the British Foreign Office, on 22nd May, 1918: "We must look for any future settlements, to a settlement, not of Courts or Cabinets, but of nations and populations. . . . Government must be carried on by the consent of the governed; no greatness, no culture, no national existence can be built upon the oppression and subjugation of nations rightly struggling to be free." These quotations show that the English government understands liberty as well as bondage, and therefore

that their tyranny in Ireland is a sin against the Holy Ghost. Contrast their professions abroad with their practice in Ireland as shown in this Statement. Contrast them with the actual situation in Ireland when those inspiring words were uttered.

At present the English King and English ministers, whose power in Ireland is in no way derived from or through the Irish people, whether in England, in Ireland, or anywhere else, never acknowledge any responsibility to the Irish people, and would repudiate any suggestion that they are or ought to be responsible. The Irish people have always adjusted their minds and conduct to this fact, on the basis of the government not being theirs in any but the military sense as the people of a conquered country. This English government is recognized by itself, by those it governs, and by all who study the matter, as not being to any extent the choice of the people or under their control; therefore irresponsible, illegitimate, and unconstitutional. Notwithstanding its representation of itself to the outer world, it fully recognizes itself and has to be obeyed in Ireland, as an unmitigated despotism. Ireland is permanently in a state of siege. While that state is maintained by England, it would be absurd to deny that a state of war exists between that Government and Ireland. The only union that ever has existed between Ireland and England, and the only union now existing between them, is a union of force. During the whole seven centuries and a half since the Anglo-Norman invasion, there has never been a moment of unforced union between these two countries. While the ancient Irish polity lasted it was a union of assailant and assailed. Since England's power became dominant in Ireland, it has been, and now is, a union of bondage, of master and slave, of tyrant and victim. As Burke says: "A government against which a claim for liberty is tantamount to high treason, is a government to which subjection is slavery. . . . Nobody will be argued into slavery." Supreme power and its exercise in Ireland have been since the days of Elizabeth and now are entirely in the hands of the English military. The permanent presence in Ireland of an immense Army of Occupation, backed by a further force of 12,000 called police, but equipped, disciplined and employed as an army; the supreme power, civil and military, vested in the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army of Occupation, that person being wholly irresponsible to any Irish person, or body; our post office, our letters, our communications, our railways, our waterways, our lands, our mines, our rivers, our harbors, our labors, our industries, our products, our property of all kinds, our raw materials, our manufactured articles, our fairs, our markets, our food, our clothing, our schools and colleges, our amusements, our going and coming, our domestic and social relations, our words and actions in public and private, all are controlled and hampered, more aggressively during war, but effectively at all times by the "competent military authority"—the irresponsible Com-

mander-in-Chief of the English Army of Occupation, with all the power of that army and of the military police, spies, and *agents provocateurs* under his control. Let who can reconcile this situation with freedom or with England's professions to the outer world; and let who can find a more accurate description of the professions than colossal hypocrisy. There being no pretense possible that this universal and perpetual militarism is derived from God through the people, we do not here speculate as to its source, but observe that, being foreign military despotism, not lacking in any of the characteristics of usurpation and tyranny, devoid of popular sanction on one side and of acknowledgment of responsibility on the other, it is an execrable and infamous tyranny wholly devoid of moral sanction and of binding force beyond what brute force imposes. True to its nature it punishes as crime, with only a military trial, or a civil trial subject to military control, or no trial of any kind, according to the unfettered discretion of the military authority, such manifestations of patriotism as the same English government encourages in Belgium, Serbia, Bohemia, Esthonia and Bagdad. What is known in other countries as ordinary civil law is normally suspended in Ireland, and in addition to the general military rule, England keeps constantly in force in Ireland—the freest of all European countries from crime of moral turpitude—exceptional coercive laws, formerly enacted for short periods and requiring frequent renewal to deal with popular movements, now simplified by being made permanent.

Of this an example is the Jubilee Coercion Act, technically known as the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887. This elaborate military rule amounts to evidence, furnished by England herself, that a state of war exists permanently between her and Ireland—and therefore there can neither be a pretense that the government is constitutional nor that the Irish nation is content with the government. To deny that the connection is one of force would be to deny the whole history of the relations between the two countries, and would amount to suggesting that a further addition to Ireland's long list of insurrections against England is required to convince the Congress of Ireland's just and irreconcilable attitude.

The sinister levity with which England entered into the Great War has been exposed by events. She disregarded the solemn warning of her poet:

“ . . . take heed how you impawn my person,
How you awake the sleeping sword of war;
I charge you in the Name of God take heed.”

Shakespeare. Henry V.

The first action of her government was that of all tyrants—to stifle public opinion by capturing the whole newspaper press if possible, and forcibly silencing such as refused to be captured. Then

the captured press was used to create a bloodthirst with such cries as "Business as Usual," "Capture German Trade," "Save Civilization," "Avenge German Atrocities," "Free Small Oppressed Nations," and "Put an End to Militarism." Readers of this Statement are in a position to judge of England's qualifications for proclaiming these things through the press and on dead walls. The two first were for the English people, for whom material gain was the object of the war; the other cries being baits for getting recruits from subject nations, who were expected to be too stupid to see that they ought to be amongst those whom the war was to set free, and would fight England's battles and get buried in heaps or return maimed to their slavery while the English stayed at home reaping the profits. It was a complete plan for making wealthy England wealthier at the cost of the lives of her duped subjects. Not all the enslaved people were so stupid as England wished them to be. Far too many thoughtless Irish youths were carried away to the war by the manufactured enthusiasm which the press and recruiting officers told them was real, but which the Secret Treaties have since exposed. Those treaties would not have helped recruiting anywhere. Hence their secrecy. It was confusing to hear recruiting officers in the uniform of Ireland's enemy, and well known to be enemies themselves, seducing young men by all sorts of low tactics, as singing popular songs like "God Save Ireland," their real purpose being not so much to win the war as to get as many Irishmen as possible, whom they themselves would be glad to shoot, shot by Germans instead. To the thoughtful the whole scheme, coming from the military despotism which was throttling the country, was the most impudent effrontery in history. It stung them into thinking and acting for the most oppressed nation now extant, the only oppressed nation to which they owed a duty, and for which no one would think or act if *they* did not. No form of tyranny could be more monstrous and odious than that which would by moral, economic or any other form of pressure whatever force men in bondage to fight for the freedom of other peoples and the perpetuation of their own slavery. To fight for the oppressor who despised them would be evidence to the world that they were unworthy of freedom. If Englishmen were to say that the Irish are now free, the obvious retort is that our condition has been described in this Statement, and that whatever Englishmen may please to call it we have no right to inflict it upon others; and that if it is our condition that is to be imposed upon small nations as a result of the war, then the war has been a greater misfortune than even we supposed.

England tries to confuse the issue by talking of "Ireland's duty in the war." Free and powerful States have great duties, which they do not always discharge. Small and independent States have a duty to maintain their integrity and independence by neutrality if possible. A nation in bondage has few duties except to herself,

and she is the sole judge of them and of when and how they should be discharged. Ireland has no responsibility for, nor hope of gain from, nor duty in respect of the war; though, unlike independent States, she is compelled to pay heavily for it. She has no more duty towards the war than Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, most of which countries are nearer to, and in business relations more affected by, the war than Ireland, which is not allowed to have any business relations. Being independent, they do not waste their manhood or their money in other people's wars. They are not expected to do so, and no one regards their neutrality as cowardly or selfish. The fact that they are in the actual enjoyment of that supreme political good is the difference between them and Ireland as regards the war. Ireland wants that, and wanting that wants everything essential for the external equipment of a State. To supply that want, to recover her independence, is her first and most urgent duty. Until that has been successfully discharged she can owe no duty to any other country, least of all to her oppressor. England wants the world to assume that the fact of Ireland being subject to her imposes a duty upon Ireland to defend her. If that were international law, why did it not impose a duty upon Greece to defend Turkey? Greece rebelled against Turkey, and though she failed, England was one of the States that insisted that Greece should be made independent; and Greece was made independent. International law has not changed since then. As well might a band of robbers claim to impose a duty on a victim in their den to defend them against the police. The defense the victim would need is against the robbers; the defense Ireland needs is against her only enemy. Foreign rule, whether good or bad in detail maintained by military force in the manner we have seen, imposes no obligation beyond the prudence of obedience in respect of that force. Neither duration nor number of repetitions can amend or validate a title originally vicious. The obligation to which the situation gives birth is to destroy that force as soon as possible. The desire of people to release their country from that tyranny, is still, as it always has been, the very definition of patriotism, the very virtue which England appeals to and encourages in Belgians, Serbians, Bohemians, Esthonians and Arabs; in any nation submerged by States opposed to her; but treats as crime in any nation submerged by herself. To apply the name of international law to such moral twisting and perversion of justice is an outrage upon Ireland, an insult to the Peace Congress and a permanent danger to the peace of the world.

All the Allies cannot be supposed to have intended their good principles and purposes, as England does, for one section of mankind only, and that section to be determined not by themselves, but by England. If the professions be of universal application they command respect. Otherwise they would be indefensible and con-

temptible. Ireland would be glad to achieve her independence, as Norway did, without loss of human life. Neither the failure of peaceful methods nor the guilt of violent methods shall rest with Ireland. But can the lamb of its own motion safely become reconciled with the wolf? The problem is a grave one for the lamb. Too often we have attempted to reason with England, nation with nation, and she cheated and insulted us every time. We are pleased to have a strong constitutional case to submit to the nations; better pleased that the Irish nation here and now is determined not to be ruled by England. That permanent elemental fact cannot be left out in any useful consideration of Ireland's case.

Burke says: "Every nation has formed to itself some favorite point which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness." With some, wealth and monopoly of commerce no matter how ill-gotten is the criterion. We are sufficiently perverse to hold that such a nation does not understand civilization, that wealth is no more civilization than it is happiness, and that what secures happiness has far more affinity to civilization than what secures wealth. The ideals of our ancestors were, as we have seen, wholly different from those of the English, always comprising, as those of their descendants do, national independence. In other respects our ideals are more modest than those of most nations. They do not inhere in the acquisition of other people's property. We revere the memory and respect the virtues of our ancestors, and must be allowed to love every rath and ruin, stream and hill hallowed by their amusements, their tears or their blood. Naturally strangers may not understand this. There is no more necessity for their doing so than for us to understand everything in the strangers' lives, provided we mutually leave each other unimpeded in what does no harm to anyone. A subject people's love of unsubstantial things does not relieve a government of the permanent duty common to all governments of saving the people. Still less does it justify a policy of deliberate destruction of the people and treatment of their country as a victim country. A dominant country so acting forfeits all right to be called civilized, and therefore forfeits all right to dominate. Our nation's survival through that ordeal, and our continued existence in spite of that government is a triumph of spirit over brute force exercised brutally. It proves more than our vitality; it proves the sustaining help of Providence. Bondage under that tyranny makes us heirs to a duty towards our country which worshippers of wealth and material success neither experience nor understand; the performance of which duty we regard as a privilege; the urgency of which duty endears our country to us beyond expression. It is for the sake of Ireland, not of our stomachs or pockets, we are interested in public affairs. In her sufferings we all suffer, materially and spiritually. In her freedom we all shall be free. In the case of an enslaved people, love

of country and love of freedom are one. Whenever since her subjection Ireland has not been in open insurrection, her suppressed sorrow and hidden sufferings, like those of a woman, have been severest. So felt the patriots of 1916—pure, brave patriots beyond the understanding of a plutocratic State, and achieving a spiritual success beyond the range of its powers. Faithful to country and to duty, their names will live with imperishable honor in the veneration of all freedom-loving men, inspiring, fortifying, encouraging all in bondage in that unconquerable fidelity to principle and duty which prevails ultimately, and which tyrants dread. Worshippers of wealth and material success, who have neither soul nor principle apart from selfish interest, sneer at the military failure of 1916, and taunt the Irish nation with not having supported its patriots, who were able to hold the Capital of Ireland for only one week. Not a bad achievement at all for less than a thousand half-trained men against forty thousand regular soldiers of a mighty empire, supported by all State machinery at the public expense. There is little foundation for imperial boasting there. There are few instances in history in which the majority of a nation took part or had an opportunity of taking part in an insurrection for its freedom, secrecy being always a condition of action. Some of the most successful and beneficent insurrections have been begun by quite a small body of men. And the tyrant's satisfaction, shown in the manner common to tyrants, with what he calls the Irish failure in 1916 is spoiled for him, since he must and does recognize the unanimity of the nation now. Is that failure? The patriots asked, Is Ireland never more to call her soul her own? They gave the answer themselves; and the keenest desire of almost unanimous Ireland today is to give the same answer. Owing to one of those unfortunate incidents to which revolutionary armies are specially exposed from defective communications, only a fraction of the Irish Republican Army was brought into action. Small though that fraction was, it comprised two distinct bodies—the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army. But they fought under a joint command with the common object of throwing off the foreign yoke and establishing a republican form of government in Ireland. It cannot be denied that that was a public and patriotic object falling within The Hague Convention, 1907, clause c, agreed to in a time of peace—that men who have fought for a public and patriotic purpose should not, on surrendering and laying down their arms be executed as criminals. Not that our patriots would have shrunk from any consequences of their action, but that it is our duty, on their behalf, and The Hague Convention shows that it is the wish and interest of civilized nations to resent the savage treatment, and to charge England with it. There is nothing in that convention to exempt England from observing it; and nothing to exempt Ireland from the scope of its mercy. The action of our patriots in

1916 in rising and holding the capital of Ireland for even one week against 40,000 imperial troops would of itself entitle us to approach this Congress, be recognized by it, and secure independence from it. The barbarous action of the English government in Ireland on that occasion enhances this right, and will, we trust, lead the Congress to regard it as an important addition to the other grounds of our claim, and to accede to that claim.

XI.

Ireland's Purposes on Resuming Independence are Those of Peace and Progress.

Notwithstanding the prolonged torture Ireland has endured, as herein disclosed, which she has borne with wonderful restraint and patience, we do not entertain any feelings of revenge, because it is foreign to our nature, because it is immoral, and because a vast and urgent work which it is our duty to do awaits us, and we count the hours and minutes in our eagerness waiting for that sovereign independence which is essential to enable us to begin this work. While waiting, we are preparing ourselves as far as circumstances permit. The entire popular voluntary activities of Ireland today, intellectual and material, have for common object national self-preservation and revival. We challenge investigation of this by or on behalf of the Peace Congress, because we know that an investigation will find Ireland amply endowed with virtue, ability and purpose to maintain our national individuality, moral, intellectual, economic and political; a more widespread and spirited effort to revive the Gaelic language, literature, music, drama, civilization and congenial industries than has ever been witnessed in a submerged nation for like purposes; all the more creditable because these activities have to encounter and overcome the constant organized hostility, open and secret, of the English government and its agents in Ireland. All the time, talent and enthusiasm directed to these specific aims are directed, through these aims, to the common goal—sovereign independence. Should any doubt of this be suggested, we invite a referendum of the entire adult population, male and female, of Ireland—by which our representatives have been appointed to this Congress—whereby the validity of our representation and any part of our case may be tested. It will be found that the pro-English faction, always a minority, is now reduced to the beneficiaries and expectant beneficiaries of the present foreign government; the mass of the population, of all races and creeds, being Irish Independents, eager to put their abilities to the test in a free democratic republic of Gaelic structure. On the other hand, we point to England's unwillingness to submit her pretensions in Ireland to any democratic test as confirmation of our claim and England's admission that she holds Ireland by force against the will of the Irish people.

The difference between freedom and bondage is comprehensive of the ideal as well as the material, necessitating considerable differences of thought and action, so that the preferences and dislikes

of one of these conditions cannot be inferred from the other. We look forward to our State bearing much resemblance to the State outlined in the second and third sections of this Statement; little or no resemblance to the condition to which England has reduced us, and continually working to its own perfection. We look to seeking, finding and developing Irish interests common or harmonizing with those of other States, to the mutual advantage of all and the security of peace and progress.

We also have preliminary work analogous to that of Tone, thus stated by himself: "To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the unfailing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my native country—these were my objects." That preliminary work achieved, we would probably begin by relieving civilians from martial law, confirming such laws as are useful pending modification by our national assembly, and requiring judges and magistrates to take a new oath of allegiance. Children of a land wilfully ruined and degraded, we long to discharge our duty to an outraged parent and restore her to her native dignity and grace. We seek only exclusive sovereign control of Ireland and of all our interests, affairs and relations, internal and external, without involving wrong to any other people. We as a nation have the same right which an inoffensive individual has to liberty, subject only to the common condition that liberty is not to be exercised to the detriment of others. We seek only the simple, logical, elementary justice of self-determination. We have no designs against any other people, and no intention of trying to dominate or conspire against any people in the world. We expect all lovers of peaceful progress to be our friends, and we theirs. Should we still have enemies, they will be also enemies of peaceful progress. We feel that we are at the dawn of a new epoch of grand achievement in a land all our own, hallowed by the lives of our forefathers for two thousand years, sanctified by their ashes. Our hearts vibrate with the spirit and purpose of renewed youth, buoyant, electric, adaptable, intolerant of external restraint; indelibly impressed with that unmitigated evil; resolved and conscious of ability to cast it out and keep it out. Like the eager horse before the race, we long and strain to test our capabilities in the solution of the problems that await us. The things we shall do are countless and great in both the material and the spiritual sense; to be determined and undertaken in due order by the nation itself; and no individual is competent to do more than suggest them in advance. We all have our dreams of a limited number of them. We spring again as a State into international life, full of new ideas, new hopes and unrestrainable rejuvenescence. Urgent as our own requirements are after long bondage, our purposes for the future are not limited to them. Our historical claim accruing from the past is enhanced by the existence in Ireland

today—as the Irish mission to China demonstrates—in spite of our intervening adverse history and present deplorable condition, of numerous men and women animated by precisely the same self-sacrificing evangelizing zeal for countries that need such services as impelled our forefathers to render those services to Europe from the sixth to the twelfth century. This attitude of mind is a living pledge that the rescue of Ireland from bondage would release and devote a further valuable contribution to universal civilization and justice, now declared to be in danger. It also reveals the commensurate loss which a continuance of Ireland's bondage would impose upon the best interests of mankind. Thus the ancient, the present, and the available future of Ireland's beneficent potentiality towards other peoples constitute quite a unique claim for favorable consideration by the Peace Congress. For ourselves, we mean to undertake, and with God's help achieve, the difficult and varied work of national reconstruction. We hope to restore, in the fulness of its faculties, the soul and personality of our nation, and to rekindle ancient flames. A new Gaelic literature will spring up, so different from that with which Ireland is now flooded that in itself it will astonish and edify all, and in its intellectual and moral effects amount to a new gift to civilization. We shall restore philosophy and law and literature and music and art to their ancient place of honor. We shall aim at attaining in music as distinguished a place in our own time as our ancestors did in theirs. We shall make Ireland once more the home of learning and the hospitable refuge of all who esteem learning. We shall abolish utterly the foreign system of anti-national education, and build up a new system on an Irish foundation. We shall eliminate all class distinctions save those of Christian culture, which itself will be the free reward of ability applied. Our people will love their country for reasons additional to the ordinary; the past experience of sleepless foreign hostility; the new experience of cherishing Gaelic care. We shall co-operate in the genuine work of saving civilization by precept and example fundamentally different from those of the statesmen who have brought the scourge of war upon the world. We shall restore our country's name to honor among the nations. Our State shall be a harmonizing influence in the world. We shall provide incentives for the art and mechanical skill and dexterity of youth and maiden, and take care that merit receives its due reward. We shall aim at making our nation self-sufficient and self-supporting, so that want shall be unknown. We shall aim at evolving an economic system in which there shall be neither master nor slave, neither millionaire nor pauper; and we shall eliminate the foreign pauper system with all its trappings. We shall make the homes of the poorest in the country and in towns places of refinement, pride and delight, nurseries of grace and virtue. We shall release the land from the blighting grip of the monopolist, divide it up

into various sized holdings to suit all means and tastes, and subject most of it to the plough; and, as under the Brehon Laws, every Irishman desiring it shall be entitled to a sufficiency of land for the maintenance of his family, on the sole condition of putting it to the best use. We shall clothe the cultivable hills with verdure, and the uncultivable with beautiful sheltering forest. We shall take charge of our railways and all forms of transit, and adjust them to our requirements. The variety and value of our bog products will excite the envy of countries not so endowed. The air shall ring with the variety of sounds of contented industry controlled by the people, sweet as the song of birds. We shall harness our rivers and apply their now idle powers to light, heat and industry. We shall cultivate fish in lake and river. Sea-fishing shall become one of our great and profitable industries under efficient protection. The outer world will find our port towns great marts of fish, corn and choice farm and garden products, as well as the manufactured articles, art and literature of a cultured people. We shall build up a mercantile marine, and make such provision for the defense of it and of our country as the international situation at the time may dictate. On what we believe to be a universal principle, we shall trade with whatever countries we find a mutual advantage in trading with. If England should come within that category, but not otherwise, we shall hold ourselves free to trade or not to trade with her as our best interests determine. We shall cultivate muscular and disciplinary development by efficient drill of our young manhood, who will proudly volunteer for the privilege of fitting themselves to defend their country, prosperous and happy, because free.

To the people of any free country, the foregoing will appear commonplace duties and functions. It would be difficult to point out one of them that is not legitimate, or one that would be dangerous to the peace of the world. With us they will amount to all the difference between the condition of independence and that of a victim country. We look to the Peace Congress to show what it thinks of the system of government which treats these purposes as criminal.

XII.

Ireland's Sovereign Independence is Essential to the Freedom of the Seas.

Whatever Ireland possesses containing a possibility of competing with England, if portable, is transferred to England; otherwise it is put out of action. English rule has put our most fertile lands out of cultivation by exterminating the cultivators, and has reduced the lands to one-fourth their natural productivity by turning them into grazing tracts for English use. England has condemned our mines to remain unworked for no reason but because the working of them would compete with English industries. For the same reason our bogs, a vast source of industry and wealth in a free Ireland, lie unutilized in an enslaved Ireland. That this is the result of deliberate purpose, the present writer has tested and found. The Irish railways, designed and constructed under English direction for the purposes of England's army of occupation, have no relation to the business requirements or development of Ireland. Our plentiful water-power is condemned to idleness because England desires all mills and all profits from milling to be hers. Our rivers, lakes and canals are in effect forbidden as ways of traffic; because such cheap inland transport would make Ireland largely self-providing, and thereby diminish the Irish market for English goods. We have twenty-two harbors ranking amongst the finest natural harbors in Europe for ocean-going traffic, and numerous safe and convenient harbors for local traffic. England, with no title but that of superior force, has deprived almost all of them of their natural shipping and forced them to remain, as they now are, empty and unused. The very geographical position in which the Creator has placed Ireland, any advantage or disadvantage from which inherently belongs to Ireland, and which eminently fits her for a great carrying trade, is actually claimed by England as a newly discovered reason for preventing any such trade and for keeping Ireland in bondage. In the 18th century, before this audacious claim was thought of, Edmund Burke gravely asked, "Is Ireland united to the Crown of Great Britain for no other purpose than that we should counteract the bounty of Providence in her behalf?" When England arrogates to herself exclusively, and expects an international Peace Congress to sanction by acquiescence, a claim infinitely more audacious than has ever before been made by any country over another, involving the commercial isolation of Ireland from the rest of the world, and foreshadowing a certain danger to international commerce, all na-

tions are entitled to be told under what law, national or international, this monstrous claim is made; if it be necessary to keep Ireland thus isolated and in bondage, what law gives England an exclusive right of doing that; under what law England claims this unlimited and manifestly unjust license, while all other nations subject themselves to a code of international justice; and for what offense is the historical Irish nation condemned to this isolation and bondage. In fine, where is this arrogant appropriation and domination to stop? Are the Irish people to be deprived of the light of day and of the air they breathe if scientific development should enable a stronger and wealthier State to appropriate those elements? When most nations are demanding freedom of the seas for commerce, and inland nations are claiming free access to the sea, Ireland is so fortunate in being surrounded by sea that her whole claim is one of elementary simplicity—sovereign independence—the right to be let alone. We deny that any other State but Ireland alone has or can ever have an exclusive right to Ireland's harbors. We say that such a claim by a State guilty of the abuses of power exposed in this Statement is an outrage upon public justice and international law. It amounts to asking the Peace Congress—and at a time when the world yearns for equal justice for all—to reverse the laws of nature and of nations; to make Ireland's very simple case appear to be complicated; to decree that Ireland shall not be permitted to make her own legitimate use of her harbors and geographical position facing the Atlantic and the great trade routes; that Ireland shall not be allowed to enjoy her natural advantages of any kind, internal, external or geographical; and all this for no better reason than because England possesses superior force. If ever the issue of *Might* against *Right* were definitely raised, it is raised by England here. It is only against Ireland her force is being exercised now. How long will her arrogance, if successful now, bear that limitation? If this power over Ireland were left in England's hands until she had her scheme of naval bases on the Irish coasts completed, she would certainly be in a position to dominate trade on the Atlantic, and indeed on all seas. Before acquiescing in such a purpose, the Congress may desire to know what countries are to be restricted, the extent and duration of the restriction, and in whose interest. It may seem that we attach undue importance to the future freedom of the seas. But it is vital to us; and our conviction is based on our experience of English rule as disclosed herein. Not only in the past, but at present, in the continued effect of legislation, policy and administration—as exemplified in the exclusion by England of the Hamburg-Amerika line of steamships from an Irish harbor in 1913—Ireland is permanently isolated from the rest of the world; and our experience convinces us that commercial freedom is attainable only through sovereign independence.

He respectfully asks the Congress in considering our claim against

England's pretension to remember that ours is not the claim of a new country, but one which, when independent, maintained close and friendly relations with continental countries when traveling was difficult, and that England's purpose is to deny her this liberty when traveling is easy. It is a pretension of such a character as to suggest that the power which already dominates the great waterways and strategic points of the world has ulterior objects which she cannot prudently disclose. It is a pretension of such a nature that if allowed to strangle Ireland it would not even then be satisfied, but would grow with its success. England offers no guarantee that, if her pretensions were allowed now against Ireland, they would not be developed for larger purposes when she found herself strong and other countries in difficulties. Relevant to her colossal display of selfish arrogance in trying to obtain tacit international sanction for a palpable outrage upon one nation and a menace to many, we ask the Congress to consider seriously the significant fact that in all the treaties into which England has entered *she has studiously observed SILENCE upon disputed points of maritime international law, thereby reserving to herself freedom to maintain her own interpretation of international law on these important points.* If England's pretension against Ireland in this matter were, tacitly or otherwise, allowed, her navy, which destroyed Irish shipping and swept Irish commerce off the seas, as we have shown, and which still prevents direct commerce between Ireland and other countries, would undoubtedly, under cover of her policy of *SILENCE*, exclude the navies and commercial shipping of the world from Irish harbors, would extend and perpetuate the domination of the most dishonest and selfish of all nations; would gradually reduce international commerce to a condition of dependence upon England; would make freedom of the seas a dream instead of a reality; would render it forever impossible to rescue Ireland from England's stranglehold; and would frustrate the purpose of this International Congress by sowing a permanent crop of disputes and consequent wars. It may not for long be the interest of any State, if it be the interest of any even now, to contribute to the creation of an octopus for its own destruction by abandoning Ireland now to that octopus.

Grotius in his treatise, *Mare Liberum*, has many wise remarks apposite to the present situation, from which it may be permissible to quote: "So far as peace is concerned, it is well known that there are two kinds of peace, one made on terms of equality, the other on unequal terms."

Again: "But though God reserves to Himself the final punishment slow and unseen but none the less inevitable, yet He appoints to intervene in human affairs two judges whom the luckiest of sinners does not escape, namely, conscience, or the innate estimate of oneself; and public opinion, or the estimate of others. These,

two tribunals are open to those who are debarred from all others; to these the powerless appeal; in them are defeated those who are wont to win by might, those who put no bounds to their presumption, those who consider cheap anything bought at the price of human blood, those who defend injustice by injustice, men whose wickedness is so manifest that they must needs be condemned by the unanimous judgment of the good, and cannot be cleared before the bar of their own souls."

Finally he says, addressing Holland, a smaller country than Ireland, "Therefore if it be necessary, arise, O nation unconquered on the sea, and fight boldly not only for your own liberty, but for that of the human race. 'Nor let it fright thee that their fleet is winged, each ship, with a hundred oars. The sea whereon it sails will have none of it. And though the prows bear figures threatening to cast rocks such as Centaurs throw, thou shalt find them but hollow planks and painted terrors. 'Tis his cause that makes or mars a soldier's strength. If the cause be not just, shame strikes the weapon from his hands'."

XIII.

England is Disqualified and Unfit to Rule Ireland.

The Irish nation has never had a parliament on the English model or according to English law. There is no reason in the nature of things why it should. The Gaelic Feis was, long before England had a parliament, much more comprehensive in scope, the adoption and promulgation of laws being only one of its many functions. Although the Feis had ceased to meet, the Gaelic polity had, in virtue of the excellent legal system, retained its force for local purposes down to the middle of the 16th century. Little conferences of the leading colonists in the English Pale, convened on each occasion by emissaries from England sent over specially to inaugurate some new scheme of aggression, dignified themselves with the name "parliament" long before that word had acquired its modern national meaning, and called their resolutions "statutes," as certain old societies still do. They made big pretensions; but to the Irish nation they were only so many reminders that an enemy was within the gates. That little parliament of the Pale, which was Catholic, ended, and the colonial parliament, which was Protestant, and an effective instrument, began under King Henry VIII of England. Those different sorts of parliaments were, however, alike, in this, that the members considered themselves Englishmen in Ireland for the purpose of maintaining and extending England's power here, and consequently acknowledged England as a country entitled to dominate Ireland so far as their power reached; and on various occasions in both periods sent members or delegates to the parliaments of England in the various cities in which parliaments were then held; murmuring against this requirement, not on national principle—because they had none except in respect of England—but because of the expense: *Monk Mason, Parliaments of Ireland, passim*. There were several parliaments of the colonial pattern held during the reign of Henry VIII; and he tried to make them Irish parliaments, not by election, but by having Irish chiefs invited to them. Not many of the chiefs attended; few of those who did attend understood what they had been summoned for; and when tendered an oath to which they objected, they withdrew. The only parliaments in the English sense in which the Irish willingly participated were the Confederation of Kilkenny in the time of Charles I, and the parliament called by James II in 1689. Of the latter Thomas Davis says, "The parliament which passed those Acts was the first and last which ever sat in Ireland since the English invasion, possessed of national authority and complete in all its parts."

The king, by law and in fact—the king who, by his Scottish descent, his creed and his misfortunes, was dear (mistakenly or not) to the majority of the then people of Ireland—presided in person over that parliament. The peerage consisted of the best blood, Milesian and Norman, of great wealth and of various creeds. The Commons represented the Irish Septs, the Danish towns, and the Anglo-Irish counties and boroughs. No parliament of equal rank, from King to Commons, sat here since; none sat here before or since, so national in composition and conduct.” All the enactments of that parliament were nullified by England as had been those of the Confederation.

From the invasion down to the present time England has never been faithful to any one of the numerous treaties she entered into with Irish kings, princes and people. One of the most disgraceful crimes in history, having regard to the circumstances, was the immediate breach of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691. Her policy of making treaties with the Irish deliberately to break them when the immediate purpose was attained explains her uniform treatment of them, before and after, as “enemies.” Whatever happened she so classed them. Let us, therefore, in this section, confine ourselves to her treatment of her own offspring, her colonists in Ireland, who also, at England's bidding and for England's purposes, called the Irish and treated them as “enemies.” After what England called her “Irish Parliament” had enacted its declaration of legislative independence in 1782, the British parliament also enacted the same measure as an additional assurance that the independence would be respected. Still the Irish Volunteers, the driving force in winning that measure and other useful measures about that time, knowing England and being uncorrupted, were not satisfied, and refused to disband, unless England gave a further guarantee. Hence, on the 22nd January, 1783, the British parliament went further and passed the Renunciation Act, 23 Geo. III, c. 20, solemnly declaring that the legislative independence of Ireland should remain for ever unquestioned and unquestionable. *In November of that same year, the Irish Volunteers having been disbanded in the meantime,* that same British parliament passed a measure enabling it to resume the power it had so grossly abused, and got the colonial parliament in Ireland to relinquish, stealthily, the very power which the British parliament had declared ten months before should remain for ever unquestioned and unquestionable. That was the sort of faith England kept with her own offspring. Let us examine that institution more closely.

The institution called “Irish Government” is not, and has never been, more than a branch or agency of the British Government. That branch or agency has never been, and is not now, elected by or responsible to the Irish people, nor even to the English colonists in Ireland, though for England's purposes of dissension it favors

them. Nor was it responsible to the colonial institution called "Irish Parliament" when that existed; nor was that parliament itself elected by the Irish people or under their control. "The Irish Parliament was simply an institution for registering the edicts of the English Privy Council": Murray, *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*. There is abundant evidence that it did not trust the "government," which, however, it rarely had power or courage to resist. From the fact that it had been created and was sustained by an external power as the parliament of a planted sect, a small minority in number, but with a commission to overrun the country, appropriate all property and dominate the nation, two consequences flowed: first, that it was essentially hostile to the Irish nation; and secondly, that it could be withdrawn or extinguished by its creator. By no other method could it ever be freed from those consequences than by a breach with its creator and amalgamation with the nation, to suppress which was its original function. And, as a matter of historical fact, it never achieved anything beneficial to the whole Irish population, or anything that might be recalled to its credit, and never attracted the support of the Irish nation, until, under pressure from the Volunteers, who recognized the necessity and desired reconciliation with the nation, it at last showed a tendency toward such breach and amalgamation. The parliament having, as a condition of its existence, to rely upon external force against the nation, was long precluded from becoming reconciled with its victim. This could not be done until it was in a position to shake off the external power. What has been said in previous parts of this Statement sufficiently indicates how the institution worked. Extracts from a pamphlet written by the late Lord Dufferin in 1867 will further illustrate the situation: "From Queen Elizabeth's reign until the Union, the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip of the trades of Ireland. One by one each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed, and even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude. . . . What has been the consequence of such a system pursued with relentless pertinacity for two hundred and fifty years? This—that debarred from every other trade and industry, the entire nation flung itself back upon the land, with as fatal an impulse as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilized." A "Letter to the People of Ireland," printed in 1779, for obvious reasons anonymously, but now in the Library of the British Museum, thus states the matter: "It is true that a pension list is a cause (of Ireland's poverty); a prodigal succession of administrators is a cause; but the fundamental cause of distress is that, being burdened with a

pension list and drained by an army, we are disabled by restrictions. The internal system of government is one grievance; the external policy of England is a greater grievance." And all this while a "parliament" existed in the country. When in 1776 that institution attempted to resist further injury from the "government," the difficulty was overcome in the manner stated by Mr. Lecky, *History of England*, IV, 441: "A step was taken by the government which in England would probably have been followed by an impeachment. Eighteen Irish peers were created in a single day, and seven barons and five viscounts were at the same time raised a step in the peerage. The terms of the bargain were well known to be an engagement to support the government by their votes in the House of Lords, by their substitutes and their influence in the House of Commons." A parliament dominated by an alien power is a mockery. Mr. Froude says, "The Irish were not to be blamed if they looked to Spain, to France, to any friend on earth or in Heaven to deliver them from a power which discharged no single duty that rulers owe to subjects."

It will have been noticed that little space is devoted in this statement and that little with reluctance, to the Penal Code of Laws against Catholics, so far as that can be called a religious persecution; too little space in comparison with the importance of the subject and the enormous abuse of power it was in dealing with a Catholic nation. But any review of misgovernment in Ireland would be misleading without some mention of the subject. Apart from its intrinsic importance, scope and long continuance, it was a key abuse which inspired or was made a pretext for all the others. It directly furnished inspiration and incentive for destroying root and branch the whole Irish civilization, religion, law, learning, and all that appertained to those things; and offered the property of Catholics as tempting rewards to Protestants who would inform or comply with other vile terms. When purposes the most gross and indefensible were planned and carried out, an inseparable accompaniment was a mixture of nicknames, insult and calumny applied to the scourged nation and the religion it professed: God and religion were invoked on behalf of the particular plunder; and "the same price of £5 was set on the head of a priest and on that of a wolf, and the production of either head was a sufficient claim for the reward:" *Haverty*.

"Amongst the Catholics at least religious intolerance has never been a prevailing vice, and those who have studied closely the history and character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion in every form which they have commonly evinced. Their original conversion to Christianity was probably accompanied by less violence and bloodshed than that of any equally considerable nation in Europe; and in spite of the fearful calamities which followed the Reformation, it is a memor-

able fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell, a Protestant prelate, during the outbreak of 1641, and the Act establishing liberty of conscience passed by the Irish parliament of 1689, in the full flush of the brief Catholic ascendancy under James II, exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character; and it was displayed in another form scarcely less vividly during the Quaker Missions, which began towards the close of the Commonwealth, and continued with little intermission for two generations:" Lecky, *Eighteenth Century*, II., 389-91.

With reference to the Penal Code: "It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency; well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and deliberate contrivance and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man:" *Edmund Burke*.

"The eighteenth century was an era of persecution, in which law did the work of the sword more effectually and more safely. Then was established a code framed with almost diabolical ingenuity to extinguish natural affection—to foster perfidy and hypocrisy—to petrify conscience—to perpetuate brutal ignorance—to facilitate the work of tyranny—to render the vices of slavery inherent and natural in the Irish character, and to make Protestantism almost irredeemably odious as the monstrous incarnation of all moral perversions . . . Having no rights or franchises—no legal protection of life or property—disqualified to handle a gun, even as a common soldier or gamekeeper—forbidden to acquire the elements of knowledge at home or abroad—forbidden even to render to God what conscience dictated as His due—what could the Irish be but abject serfs? What nation in their circumstances could have been otherwise? Is it not amazing that any social virtue could have survived such an ordeal?—that any seeds of good, any roots of national greatness could have outlived such 'a long tempestuous winter?'" Godkin, *History of Ireland*, II., 116.

Let us look at another aspect of the colonial institution. In the case of a self-ruled country, an indefensible pension list, though a grievance, to be redressed by the country itself, could scarcely be of sufficient importance to deserve mention in a Statement for an international purpose. But in this case a view of an Anglo-Irish pension list is essential to complete the picture of the unreality of self-rule and the degrading reality of the *status* of a victim country.

"The greater part of the Irish revenues was directly expended in the interest of England and of individual Englishmen:" Murray, *Commercial Relations*. In the 17th and 18th centuries the value of money differed largely from now, averaging up to ten times

its present value. Be it remembered while reading this paragraph that pensions on the Irish revenue were illegal according to both English law and Anglo-Irish law. In addition to this, some of the Irish statutes for raising money expressly precluded the imposition of pensions on such money. But is it not a condition of submergence that law for the protection of the submerged must yield to power? As soon as the colonial parliament had voted the various sums, it had no more power over them; and the English agency calling itself "Irish government" applied the money to the most corrupt purposes, such as pensions to prostitutes of royalty, salaries and pensions attached to trivial or sinecure offices, etc. "The government argued that the king had an uncontrolled right to charge the money brought into the treasury with pensions; for the barring in the statutes for hearth-money, quit rents and licenses could affect the money only before it was brought into the treasury. Once the money was in the treasury, it became part of the aggregate fund to be used indiscriminately for the support of the government. In England there was no instance of the Crown granting any pensions for a number of years or lives on the produce of funds raised and granted by means of a statute law for specific purposes. But in Ireland the theory of the government was accepted and acted upon all during the 18th century, in spite of the spasmodic protests of the Irish Commons:" Murray, *Commercial Relations*, 155-6. Writing on the 22nd March, 1714, Archbishop King, a placeman of William III, complains that "It is preposterous that £5,000 pension should be allowed for a nobleman, nay, a lady, for services that, though very obliging to the person that gave the pension, yet were not proper to be alleged as motive in the grant." He also complains of a salary of £10 a year being attached to the paltry office of keeper of the records in Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle; yet when King's friend, Addison, the essayist, became secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he was given, in addition to that post, the keepership of the said records with the salary attached and pension of £500 a year concurrently with the salary! This was a usual arrangement under the alleged "Irish government." On the 6th November, 1722, King writes, "Of a truth, we never had nor heard of so lavish a management as this has been since his majesty came to the crown; and which is yet more mischievous, 'tis whispered that the ministry is against these exorbitant pensions; but they are forced to comply with the king or turn out." "When the king wished to give a pension to some particularly scandalous person, he granted it on the Irish establishment, well knowing that the Irish Parliament could do little, while the English Commons might not have allowed the funds they voted to be used for such purposes:" Murray, *Commercial Relations*, 168. On the 8th January, 1723, King writes that there has just been added to the establishment "a pension of £1,200 to the Countess of Walsingham-

ham, and one of £1,200 to the Countess of Lippic, which makes an addition of £14,400"; that is, including other pensions to which he did not so strongly object. Pensions were sometimes given to unnamed persons, and some to persons under fictitious names. The following are specimen pensions to persons having no connection with, or claim upon, Ireland: The Duchess of Kendal, mistress of George I, £3,000 a year; the Countess of Yarmouth, £4,000 a year; Baron Steinberg, amount not stated; Rudolf de Spork, amount not stated; Herman Holbourg, £1,000 a year; the Princess of Hesse, £5,000 a year; the Queen Dowager of Prussia, £800 a year; Lady Betty Waldgrave, £800 a year; M. de Verois, the Sardinian ambassador who had negotiated peace with France, £1,000 a year; Lady Kilmansegg, £750, afterward increased to £1,250 a year; Christina Shroder, £2,000 a year; the Countess of Belmont, £1,500 a year; Augusta Shultz, £1,200 a year; Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, £4,000, afterward increased to £6,700 a year; Lord Bathurst, £2,000 a year; the Duke of Gloucester, £3,000 a year; the Duke of Cumberland, £3,000 a year; the Earl of Cholmondeley, £3,700 a year; the Princess Amelia, £1,000 a year; Princess Augusta, £5,000 a year; Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark (banished for adultery), £3,000 a year. The fact that all such pensions were illegal by statute law, and yet had to be paid in full in Irish currency (£1-1-8 Irish to £1 English), and that, too, without any deduction such as tax, shows what little protection law and a subordinate parliament offered to Ireland against English depredations. The revenue was not always relieved by a pension lapsing from death or other cause. The "government" in suitable cases, of which they were the judge, transferred the pension to some other favorite, and it became permanent. Within the official circle, a pension attached to an office and paid concurrently with the salary was sometimes retained on the pensioner's promotion to a better post, though he either could not or would not discharge the duties of the pensioned office. As exposed by Swift in his *Drapiers Letters*, many of the higher offices in Church, State, and Judiciary were given with their salaries to Englishmen, who in some cases never came to Ireland, and never made, or pretended to make, any return whatever for the salaries. The duties were either neglected or discharged by substitutes for whom additional salaries had to be provided. The entire system was indefensible.

The rise and boldness of aim of the Volunteers in 1779, and their resolution at Dungannon, 1782, was the first call from the colony to the Irish nation, in substance though not in words, to rally against the common enemy. It was answered promptly and generously. The Volunteers created a great opportunity for the parliament to reform itself and achieve national independence as with their help and that of the Catholics it could then have done.

But the Parliament utterly failed to rise to the greatness of the occasion. Even Grattan and the brilliant group to which he belonged never rose above the essentially colonial, Protestant, and dependent idea. The Parliament, conscious of its false position and inherent corruption, was always too weak to take any strong action of its own volition. It acted only under pressure; volunteer pressure from 1779, when the Volunteers sprang into power, until 1783; English pressure normally. The appalling distress throughout the country; the wave of national spirit generated by the Volunteers, by the contagious example of the American colonies, and by the consciousness that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity, enabled the Parliament to achieve some commercial freedom in 1779, and apparent legislative liberty in 1782. During the last twenty years of its existence it promoted the industries of sea-fishing, brewing, sugar-refining, and some minor industries and forms of development. It made Dublin a national capital, with a consequent concentration there of business, fashion, and wealth. But the value of its benefits has been greatly overestimated. Taken all together, they were not at all of national magnitude. They withered when the Parliament was extinguished. But there is no reason whatever to doubt; it would be utter childishness to doubt, that if the Act of Union had not been carried England would have destroyed each and every one of the Irish enterprises as soon as she saw them command a profit which she could by any means make her own, with as little scruple as she had done with previous enterprises and with as little scruple as she withdrew the partial liberty to which these enterprises were due; and, the colonial parliament having discarded the support of the Volunteers, would have concurred in England's designs. The choice of method is immaterial in presence of the fact that it was England did destroy the industries.

By maintaining, as it did throughout, its strictly alien, sectarian, and colonial character, and keeping the Irish nation outside unrepresented, the parliament deprived itself of any valid claim to be called an Irish Parliament. A Parliament pretending to represent Ireland, and speaking in her name, while itself consisting largely of English placemen, excluding the Irish nation, and conducting itself as a fragment of a foreign nation, was consciously making a false pretense. It could not be national as regarded Ireland. By the fact of excluding the nation, it made itself anti-national; and in fact and in practice it was avowedly and systematically anti-Irish, always a ready tool for England's anti-Irish purposes. This was necessarily so; because representing only an ascendancy minority its activities were determined and directed by the outside power which it served. Such an ascendancy always needs external power against the Nation; and that meaning, in plain words, the support of the enemy against the nation, it was necessarily anti-Irish.

Throughout, it was the enemy's power it wielded, and not power derived from the nation it ruled; therefore throughout it was essentially anti-national and anti-Irish. Such was the nature it had inherited, and such its own pettiness and corruption, that the pressure and the very existence of the Volunteers soon became irksome and embarrassing to it. So far from its having achieved the independence of Ireland, as Grattan seems to have imagined, it hardly achieved a single essential of independence. It had got no control over the executive government. That irresponsible body still remained the agent of the English Privy Council and retained control over Ireland and Ireland's resources, including the Parliament itself. What a parody of independence that was. The Parliament became frightened at the narrow escape it had had of doing something noble. It was dazzled by the powers the Volunteers had won for it—because it was unworthy of them. It stealthily surrendered them to England again as soon as the Volunteers were disbanded; and the words written by Lord Lieutenant Carlisle in 1781 were again true: "Every regulation or restriction which Great Britain may think fit to subject herself to, and which she may consider as equally incumbent on Ireland, will be cheerfully adopted in this country, and effectively executed by Irish law"; without the consent of either the Irish people or the parliament that pretended to represent them.

The only valid argument for the maintenance of such a leprous institution in the country was an argument which none of the colonial statesmen had the breadth of view or courage to use, namely, the possibility of curing its leprosy by self reform, and then imbibing manhood enough to rise to its opportunities. When the Volunteers attempted to insist upon its reforming itself, knowing that it was a constant danger otherwise, the Parliament itself was the obstacle. It shirked the duty because it was too rotten for the task. Afterwards it made such an attempt to reform as resulted in increasing the power of the executive over it. Individuals, many of them absentees, who were patrons of pocket boroughs, chose—for cash paid them—"representatives" whom they then got a few of their local dependents or hirelings to go through the farce of "electing," unknown to the community. Seats were bought and sold in the open market. There was a complete absence of civic virtue as well as of civic freedom. We have Grattan's own authority for saying that in 1790, under what was considered an enlarged constitution, the Irish nation had no representation or voice whatever in the making or administration of the laws which affected them and under which they had to live; and that the number of placemen and pensioners whom the corrupt "government" had got into the docile "Parliament" equalled one-half of its efficient members. It rapidly became worse in the following years. It shirked all its great duties. It shirked its supreme duty of declar-

ing Ireland's Sovereign Independence when the call of the Volunteers had brought to its support for that purpose the nation which it refused to emancipate or recognize. This was its greatest failure, because it disappointed the nation's hopes on the only occasion on which the nation took an interest in its proceedings. It shirked the duty of settling justly the greatest and most urgent domestic problem, the land system which it had forced upon the people, and which kept them in chronic famine and sucked the marrow out of their bones. It voted money for a navy to protect its own commerce, and shirked the duty of applying the money to that purpose. It passed a bill giving certain relief to Irish merchants, and because England objected to their being relieved it left the bill in abeyance. It maintained an army, paid English officers of it, and shirked the duty of exercising any control whatever over it. It was the sole immediate repository of power in Ireland throughout the 18th century. What did it achieve during that long period? The degradation of a nation; its own eternal disgrace. Will the most capable of its admirers answer two questions so simple that they should be easily answered? First, can he specify a single benefit conferred upon the excluded Irish nation by the Protestant colonial Parliament during the whole of its existence? Second, can he specify a single act worthy of a legislature with its pretensions until the pressure of the Volunteers was applied to it in 1779? What is to be thought of an institution calling itself an Irish Parliament of which these two questions can be asked without any possibility of an affirmative answer? It needs little reasoning to decide whether that was an instrument of freedom or of slavery, Ireland's instrument or England's tool. A subordinate parliament which throughout its existence scourged the nation in whose name it dared to speak, and shirked all its primary and fundamental duties, was nothing but a disgrace and a danger to Ireland, and a bad imitation of an over-rated model. So bad has Ireland found all parliaments that have meddled with her, so diametrically different from the boasts regarding parliaments, so iniquitous in themselves and in their output, that many have come to hate the very name "parliament." We look forward to making the Feis of free Ireland different in name as well as in character.

Let others tell how the Act of Union was carried. Mr. Lecky says, "It is a simple and unexaggerated statement of the fact, that, in the entire history of representative government there is no instance of corruption having been applied on so large a scale, and with such audacious effrontery." Mr. J. A. Fox says, "W. Longfield was appointed commissioner to distribute the bribes. Castle-reagh considered that £1,500,000 would be the necessary sum for the purpose of bribery. There were eighty boroughs with 103 borough seats in the Parliament, belonging to patrons. The following are amongst the sums that were paid, many in hard

cash, in return for a vote or votes for the Act of Union: Lord Downshire, £52,500; Lord Ely, £45,000; Earl of Carrick, £14,350; Lord Clannorris, £14,000; Sir Hercules Langrishe, £13,862; Duke of Leinster, £13,800; Lord Lismore, £12,300; Earl of Ludlow, £7,500; Earl of Shannon, £7,500; Lord Tara, £7,500; Hon. E. Massey, £6,850, Earl of Massareene and his three brothers, £3,750 each—£15,000."

Lord Lieutenant Cornwallis, writing to the Bishop of Lichfield on 27th April, 1799, says, "You will easily conceive how unpleasant my situation must be and how little I can flatter myself with the hopes of obtaining any credit for myself, or of rendering any essential service to my country. Sincerely do I repent that I did not return to Bengal." Writing on the 8th June, 1799, to General Ross, he says, "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under Heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work."

It must be remembered that titles and offices at the public expense were distributed as lavishly as money. What made the Act so expensive was that all the free opinion of the country, North and South, was opposed to it. The "government" sent out urgent whips in all directions to obtain signatures to a petition for the Union. Those opposed to the Union were thwarted in every way in which a government can thwart popular action. Notwithstanding this, the signature of electors in County Down numbered 17,000 against the Union and only 415 for it. Thus the colonists having completed the work which England wanted them to do for her, would not be permitted to have a parliament for their own purposes, especially in view of the danger of their becoming amalgamated with the Irish nation. "Scarcely any element or aggravation of political immorality was wanting, and the term "honour," if it be applied to such men as Castlereagh and Pitt, ceases to have any real meaning in politics. Whatever may be thought of the abstract merits of the arrangement, the Union as it was carried was a crime of the deepest turpitude." Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 198.

In all that vile business, so loathsome to touch, the Catholics—that is the Irish nation at the time—had no part or responsibility, for the reason that no Catholic was eligible to or a member of the Colonial Parliament. The government, however, in their anxiety to have the measure enacted, sought help from all quarters. The Viceroy himself and other government agents assured the heads of the Catholic Church that if they gave whatever support they could from outside to the measure, or showed they were in favor of it, and it was enacted, the British Parliament would immediately enact the relaxation of the Penal Laws called Catholic Emancipation; and Cornwallis told the Parliament itself that it would never

grant Catholic Emancipation, *because it could not afford to do so!* What a humiliating final kick to the Parliament that had served England so basely, to be told that its evil use was at an end and that it could not afford to do good.

Emancipation never came as a result of the promises. Twenty-nine years later, the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister of England, informed the King that a situation had arisen in Ireland in which a choice had to be made between Catholic Emancipation and revolution. The relief then came, not because of the promises, nor because it was just, but as usual in obedience to the appearance of force.

The Union deprived Ireland of even the simulacrum of a Parliament and substituted direct legislation from London. The difference to the Irish nation was, that a Parliament in Ireland, claiming to represent and act for Ireland only, however unrepresentative or bad, should at some time come under the control of the Irish nation, with the natural consequences. England knowing that, would on no account have permitted such a Parliament to exist. It was vitiated throughout by the undeniable principle that what England had given England was entitled to take away when she had the power. She had no business for a Parliament in Ireland but to keep the population divided, the more easily to dominate the whole. The first symptom of a better purpose was like a signal to England to take the work of dividing and dominating into her own hands. So long as a vestige of England's power lasts in Ireland, direct or indirect, its functions will be to Divide, Dominate, Plunder, Misrule, and Malign Ireland.

Throughout almost the whole of the 19th century, the energies of the Irish people were so much absorbed in the sheer animal problem of self-preservation and destruction of the system of landlordism imposed upon them by Cromwell and the other confiscators, that it was only spasmodically, in 1848 and 1867, any efforts were made towards national independence. Owing to the nature of their pressing grievances, and the necessity disarmed men were under of utilizing any available means, they allowed themselves to be misled into the temporary aberration of sending to the British Parliament, from 1830 onward, representatives who, so far as they were nationalists, treated the oath of allegiance as what it is—a political instrument. Their purpose there was chiefly to secure the enactment of land laws essential for the maintenance of life, which were in each instance substantially achieved by popular action and the sacrifice of many victims to prison and gallows. The technical breach of principle, as in the present use of an English-created franchise for independent purposes, was a legitimate tactical experiment. Having proved wholly mistaken and futile as a policy, it has ended, and our nation denies any right in the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland.

Naturally, in two adjacent islands, before they have fully specialized, some industries and trades suitable for one are suitable for both. With friendship, justice, and good sense it would be easy to ascertain the respective degrees of suitability, and to settle which should practise one set of industries and which another set. The English Government in dealing with Ireland has never been satisfied with less than a monopoly of all, and, so far as they could prevent it, would not tolerate the success of any industry or trade in Ireland, even in the absence of a corresponding industry in England. When Ireland had any raw material of value which happened to suit England, she was not allowed to work it herself, or to export it, raw or manufactured, to where she chose, but was compelled to sell it to England at England's price; and this is still the case. On the other hand, she was actually prevented from importing from a foreign country a raw material for which England had no use but thought she might have a use in the future. No conceivable contrivance was omitted to fetter Irish industries and commerce. The instances herein given must be regarded only as instances in a continuous and comprehensive system covering the whole sphere of industrial life. In some cases the effects were produced by acts of the Colonial Parliament at England's bidding; in other cases, even while that Parliament existed, directly by the English or British Parliament or by Orders in Council thereunder; just as at present so far as any attempt is made to found or revive in Ireland an industry or trade. England's motive in all this is immaterial to Ireland; but for the information of the Peace Congress we may attempt to elucidate it.

No doubt the primary motive of the elaborate system of restrictions and cheating was, and is, the sordid, commercial one of helping England's manufactures and trade by any means, moral or immoral, in complete disregard of honesty, decency and the amount of injustice and suffering thereby inflicted upon others. So far, this was England's attitude towards all countries. In the minds of Englishmen, their own and their country's selfish interests outweigh all other considerations, and supersede law, morality and justice, even while they preach these virtues to other people. From English trade jealousy Scotland, the English plantations, and any country that crossed England's path suffered more or less; but they were not pursued beyond the incidence of trade. All were enemies to the extent of being traded upon and outmanoeuvred as much as possible; but the active hostility ceased on the definite achievement or failure of the immediate purpose. The treatment of Ireland was, and is, in quite a different category. It exhibited a degrading and brutalizing antipathy; brutalizing to England as is his trade to the slave-owner. Not content with sordid gain, nor even with security, she tortured wantonly. She exhausted human ingenuity and device against Ireland, and left

no device unused, even when no gain could be foreseen as a possible result. She gives way permanently to the savage impulse of seeing through a criminal course once entered upon. The sleepless vigilance, the untiring ingenuity, the unremitting persistency with which Ireland was, and is, pursued suffers no diminution from time or circumstance, and can proceed only from sheer malevolence with no reason however base to justify it. In short, the treatment of Ireland is the classic example of the treatment of a victim country. What Dr. Lynch wrote two centuries and a half ago still holds true: "That time could not slacken or cool down the fiery ardor of this hatred, that English obstinacy should be eternal, is truly astonishing. Never, since the creation of the world, were hostile feelings so systematically kept alive for such a length of time in any country:" *Cambrensis Eversus*, I., 219. An apt epitome of England's policy in Ireland, written three centuries ago, also holds true still: "Down they go in every corner, and down they shall go, God willing." Blinded by wicked purpose, the English have never been able to appreciate the blasphemy of representing God as sanctioning their ungodly conduct. In relation to Ireland, England added to her abnormal greed an active principle of malignancy and wanton hatred which men, according to their tastes, ascribe to racial, religious, climatic, or other causes, or to all these together; but which remain historical facts, whatever be the motive. All these may be elements in a complex motive, especially for England's hatred of the Irish proper, whom she has labored to murder and calumniate and will therefore never forgive. But she shows that that guilt of hers cannot be the only element, by her treatment of her Protestant colonists in Ireland, fresh from her bosom, full of whatever sentiment animates Englishmen in lieu of patriotism; full, presumably, of pride and love and hope for the greatness of England, and of England, at the expense of other peoples; even these her children, once having become established in Ireland, were no longer trusted or given fair play. She had confiscated practically all the property of the Irish people, and given it, with all the power that accompanies property, into the hands of her favorites; and every high office in State, Church, and Judiciary, was occupied, not even by one of her colonists born in Ireland, but by newer and fresher men from England, Protestants, attached by every tie to the current English order of things and the English connection; and yet England would not tolerate the prosperity of these her garrison and friends in Ireland; would not allow them so much as to protect their own commerce, and solved the problem by decreeing that they should have no commerce. Indeed, most of the commercial restrictions mentioned in this statement, after the great confiscations, were aimed by England mainly at her own garrison and supporters in Ireland. In return for having made themselves the tools of England's domination, they were made the first and

chief sufferers from England's insatiable greed, and were treated by their employers as receivers of stolen goods. When in the time of Charles II., the sea was infested with pirates, and the Colonial Parliament voted a perpetual grant for the support of a navy to protect their commerce, England would not permit the money to be so applied; misappropriated it; and took pains to make it known that any suggestion of an Irish navy would be regarded as treasonable. A fine illustration of confidence in her offspring, and an exhibition of consciousness that she was not treating that offspring justly. She compelled her Irish Parliament to contribute £36,000 a year (equal to nearly ten times as much now), when Ireland could ill afford it, towards English shipping, and £62,000 in addition towards the maintenance of Tangier. Ireland must defend Tangier but dare not defend itself. The Irish nation, as distinct from the colony, unconscious of having given any cause for England's implacable hatred, and seeing no cause for it but the well-known one, that a criminal rarely forgives his victim, generally attribute it to a malignant nature or a disease. The real motive of the hatred, however, is this: The English commercial mind is incapable of conceiving power as other than a product and accompaniment of wealth, as it has been in England's case. She knows well, better than the Irish themselves know, the natural wealth, actual and latent, of Ireland. It was not the poverty, but the wealth of Ireland, that attracted English adventurers and excited their cupidity and jealousy. The more favored a country is by nature the more attractive to the covetous—and the greater the crime of destroying it. As a murderer dislikes being confronted by a person who has escaped his knife, so England in her guilt, dislikes the nation towards which she stands in the position of murderer and especially dislikes being confronted by that nation before an international tribunal. Having partially failed to exterminate the Irish nation, the English statesmen and press constantly disseminate the slander in foreign countries that Ireland could not support herself as a separate State, knowing from their own experience that it is a slander. They have, as we have seen, long since found Ireland to be a natural mine of wealth, and have abstracted and appropriated to themselves more from it for years than is expended in maintaining some proud States in Europe. That explains why England is so wealthy, and Ireland so apparently poor, because impoverished by England's extortion. England knows that an independent Irish State would rapidly become wealthy and powerful in modern Europe. Therefore the true and only cure for England's malignancy is the destruction of her power in Ireland. It is knowledge of this and not counterhate, which has been forced upon us by unvarying experience as our motive and our only safety. The partial and temporary revival of Irish industries from 1779 till 1800 was limited to the scope and duration of the

instalment of liberty of that period. With sovereign independence alone is a nation limited only by her ability and virtue, and enabled to put forth her best efforts and reap the reward.

An international Peace Congress, one of whose purposes is to establish a durable peace among nations, cannot fail to take account of the chief dispositions and forces hostile to peace, and to take effective precautions against future misconduct of any State addicted to indulge in such misconduct. There is special necessity for this in the case of a State which has indulged in any grave species of misconduct toward a subject nation by *continuous policy*, as distinguished from severity arising out of specific cause; has practiced such a policy to the degree of treating the subject nation as a victim; and holds its conduct to be an exclusively domestic concern. International law does not recognize, and civilized states cannot afford to allow, that any State has or can have or acquire a right to torture and destroy a subject nation. Not even in war, still less as a settled form of government, can such treatment be allowed. France, England, Russia and America have already in several instances, with universal approval, treated such abuse of power as tyranny, a breach of international law, a public danger, and a forfeiture by the offending State of any right to rule such subject nation; released the nations from such subjection, and established and maintained their independence. In none of those instances, in no case of which there is record, has abuse of power been so bad or so long continued, as in the treatment of Ireland by England, comprising as it does:

1. The policy of defamation of Irish character, still being pursued;
2. The policy of destruction of civilization in Ireland, still being pursued;
3. The policy of exterminating the Irish nation, still being pursued;
4. The policy of destruction and prevention of Irish industries and trade, still being pursued;
5. The policy of prevention of legitimate intercourse with other nations, still being pursued;
6. The policy of financial exhaustion of Ireland for England's purposes, still being pursued;
7. The policy of infidelity to public engagements with Ireland, still being pursued;
8. The policy of general victimization of Ireland, still being pursued;
9. The policy of infringing the international Convention of The Hague, 1907, still being pursued; and
10. The policy of dominating international commerce, still being pursued.

Therefore we have to add to Ireland's numerous irresistible titles to sovereign independence the right of release from a tyranny

which international law and all civilized states condemn, which no right of sovereignty, and no duty of allegiance could survive. England having made herself the personification of iniquity, must be relieved of position and power so selfishly abused.

XIV.

Ireland Claims Recognition and Intervention by the Peace Congress, Restitution and Reparation by England, and an International Guarantee for Her Future Security.

Every nation that is not wholly absorbed in animal grossness has a spiritual personality; and its own past, when worthy, is the surest foundation of its claim for restoration and recognition as a State, and for its future when restored. Basing upon all the foregoing general and special titles and grounds of claim of a nation old in centuries but replete with the generous hope and high purpose of youth; scornfully rejecting the suggestion that she is destined always to be the slave and drudge of an inferior people; animated by the indomitable spirit and courage of self-sacrifice to proceed, in any event, to the goal of independence; Ireland appeals specially to every state that respects the virtues and qualities essential to civilization, that inherits gratitude to Ireland for any past service, or that cares for the permanent interests of justice and peace. She appeals to the Peace Congress as a whole on all these grounds to receive and hear her representatives; and deal worthily with the case they present for restoration to the society of Sovereign States of one which in her long career never inflicted wrong upon any nation. It behooves the Congress as well as Ireland to remember England's desire to stifle our voice, stronger today than in 1599, when Queen Elizabeth's Deputy, Lord Essex, said: "'Twere as well for our credit that we alone had the exposition of our quarrel with this people, and not they also."

No question of the identity of the Irish nation can honestly be raised. But knowing our opponent, we desire to forestall a possible allegation that the Irish nation of today is not identical with that of the independent Ireland of the past; and we invite the Congress:

1. To require the State challenging Ireland in this respect to produce, as a condition of being heard on that subject, a verification of its own identity with the England of the centuries of Ireland's independence.
2. To consider whether any other European State of the present day is identical with its own past in so many essential respects as Ireland is with hers; and
3. To consider the following statement on historical identity by the English constitutional lawyer, Phillimore:
"The vital principle of international law is a necessary and prin-

cipal consequence flowing from the doctrine of moral personality and actual intercommunion of States. The legion, the Roman jurist said, is the same, though the members of it are changed; the ship is the same, though the planks of it are renewed; the individual is the same, though the particles of his body may not be the same in his youth as in his old age; and so '*Populum eundem hoc tempore putari qui abhinc centum annis fuisset!*'"

The Entente Allies and all who have expressed concurrence in their war aims have, in accordance with a principle of international law universally recognized, specially emphasized the equality of right among nations, whether big or little, in all matters, but especially for the purpose of determining the rule under which they would live. In a Federal State, such as North America and Switzerland, the constituent states have equal representation in the Federal Senate, irrespective of their size or population. The principle of international law to which this conforms is thus expressed by Oppenheim: "Since the law of nations is based on the common consent of the States as Sovereign communities, the member-states of the family of nations are equal to each other as subjects of international law," irrespective of any difference among them as regards area, population, power, etc. "This is a consequence of their sovereignty and of the fact that the law of nations is a law between, not above states." Sir F. E. Smith, Attorney General of England, in his book on the subject, thus expresses it: "States are units of international law, and that law recognizes mutual equality among them." Therefore President Wilson's declaration of equality of right among nations, big and little, adopted by the Allies, is but a re-affirmation of a principle long established, and its application to submerged nations equally with those that are independent. In accordance with this principle Ireland claims in the Peace Congress equal representation with that of other nations to be affected by the decisions of the Congress. Her claim for recognition of her *status* as a Sovereign State is, and has been shown in this statement to be, so well founded that she believes herself entitled to enforce it whenever and however she can. She desires to avail of this Congress as one of the possible methods. Her claim may be regarded from either of two standpoints: that of Ireland claiming a measure of simple justice due to her historically, due to her merits, her inherent right, essential to her continued existence, which she is qualified and able to assume with safety and credit, and which she is for all these reasons determined to have; and from the standpoint of the Congress, either allowing the claim and thus settling an inveterate dispute, or taking the responsibility of refusing recognition. The former course would put the Congress in possession of the facts and merits of the case. The latter course would amount to an adverse decision in disregard of the facts and merits; which facts and merits the civilized world could not then be restrained from discussing and deciding

upon, in derogation of the functions and repute of the Congress. Any proposal to recognize the *status quo ante bellum* would produce the same result, with the addition that, irrespective of facts and merits, the Congress would in effect take the side of power and oppression against unquestionable right, justice, and humanity, and thus begin its proceedings by recognizing and maintaining that very dominance of Force over Right which it is earnestly hoped the Congress will eliminate from the world. In the actual case, this would amount to a declaration that there is no remedy for an international wrong involving the existence of a nation. In addition to the retrograde step which such a confession of failure to meet a supreme need would undoubtedly be, it is worth considering the untenable position into which it would lead the Congress in a conceivable case. The two nations of Sweden and Norway constituted one State until eleven years ago, when they separated without loss of human life. Norway's right to separation, independence, and international recognition was not then and is not now questioned by other States. Norway is now regarded as rightly in possession of her independence. Taking the facts as they were at the time of the separation, and laying aside the question of relative power, could forcible opposition by Sweden have diminished or destroyed, in international law, Norway's right to independence? Clearly it could not: the right was inherent. Norway's right, now internationally recognized, would have been equally good even had she been unable to achieve independence. Neither her weakness nor Sweden's strength would have affected the right as a right. Therefore we ask the Congress to recognize that Ireland's right is equally good as Norway's. Again, though Austria and Hungary now constitute a single State, internationally recognized as one, the countries composing that State are free to separate. If they, or either of them, or any one of other united countries, desired separation, the mere fact of another member of the group opposing and by force defeating the project of separation, could neither diminish the right nor justify other nations, singly or collectively, in attempting to prevent the separation by refusing to recognize as a separate State the country desiring it. This being so even in the case of countries united constitutionally by mutual agreement and nearly equal in power, where spectator nations may intervene or remain passive; it is much more emphatically so, and imposes a positive duty of intervention, where, as in the case of Ireland, the right to independence exists, where there has never been any agreed union or constitutional connection, where the only union is that of force; more accurately, where there is no union, but only subjection and subjection for the purposes of the strong at the expense of the weak. In this case, a refusal to recognize the right of the subject nation to sovereign *status* would be a refusal to remedy a supreme inter-

national wrong, a strengthening of the chains of slavery, and would be more repugnant to international law, to justice, and to international interest than would a refusal to recognize Norway in one of the cases submitted, or Hungary in the other.

The American statesman, John Quincy Adams, writing to President Monroe, said: "There is a stage in such (revolutionary) contests when the party struggling for independence has, as I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality." It will be observed that he does not restrict the principle to nations with a historical claim, but makes it applicable to all alike. As illustrations, it is to this principle that America owed recognition of herself by France in 1778; and to the continued pressure of her arms, helped by France's recognition, she owed the recognition of her independence by England four years later. When in 1640 the King of Spain (to which Portugal was then subject) ordered a large number of troops to be conscripted in Portugal for Spanish service, for the purpose of fighting Spain's battles and diminishing Portugal's power of revolt, the Portuguese perceiving the two-fold object, broke out in revolt, which was successful in overthrowing the Spanish yoke; made John, Duke of Braganza, King of Portugal; and John's ambassadors were received at the Courts of France, England and Sweden, and subsequently by Spain herself. So the independence of Switzerland was formally recognized in 1648 and 1654; and of Holland by Spain in 1649. It is to the same principle the Balkan States owe recognition of them by European States, followed by one form or another of intervention, and their consequent independence and separation from Turkey. The independence of the countries overrun by Napoleon was recognized by France in 1815; of the South American Republics by England in 1825, before their independence had been recognized by their mother country; of Greece, after her unsuccessful insurrection, by France, Great Britain and Russia in 1827; of Belgium by France, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1835; of united Italy in 1860; of Norway in 1907, and of several old and also several new States during the progress of the Great War. It is to the practice of recognition, followed by intervention where necessary, the existence anywhere today of national independence and of human liberty is due; and doubtless prevention of many wars. Hence we urge it at present in the case of Ireland.

Intervention, when rendered necessary by obstinate tyranny, is a logical development of recognition; and is, under international law, a duty incumbent upon States, in order to stay the shedding of blood; to prevent greater evils than even a wrong intervention could possibly be; to prevent or stop gross injustice to a nation and inhumanity to a people; *a fortiori*, to prevent the destruction

of a nation; and to prevent misrule calculated to produce constant injustice and disturbance. In modern times, France, England, Russia, and America have, expressly in the interest of justice and humanity, constituted themselves the special champions of certain submerged and oppressed nations not within their own dominions, and in that character have recognized new and revived States and intervened to establish their independence. Submergence and oppression are the fundamental grounds of their action. It is because all the evils of submergence and oppression are united in a virulent form in the present condition of Ireland, that immediate joint recognition and intervention on her behalf are claimed. If it be true, as some allege, that the people of a country, as distinguished from its rulers, never deliberately oppress or work for the destruction of another people, and that of such crimes rulers and governments alone are guilty; it would follow that suppression, oppression and the policy of exterminating the Irish nation never had English popular sanction. On the evidence of history we hold the English people guilty of all they have enabled their rulers to do in Ireland. But either way, the surest foundation for peace is the separate independence of each nation—self-determination. It is only by such international polity mankind can become enriched with the best contribution that each nation is capable of making to the common stock of civilization and progress, and that a just international law can spring. Precedents invoked from the past for the subjugation of nations are not international law, but inter-tyrant perversions of law and justice, and have never had the considered approval of any free people or of any international Peace Congress elected by free peoples. They are essentially antagonistic to peace and harmony among nations. It is in the nature of things, insisted upon by the United States of America, and acknowledged by that country's present Allies, an essential condition of an enduring peace that no nation be kept against its will under the control of another nation. A State imposing such control on an unwilling nation, and thus violating an essential condition of an enduring peace, thereby, in addition to any other disqualifying fact, shows itself to be unworthy of representation in an international Congress whose primary purpose is to establish an enduring peace. As on all other points, so on this point the condition Ireland demands as essential to an enduring peace is precisely the condition laid down by the Entente Powers, if not by the belligerents on both sides. We accept, without alteration, the various dicta of the Allied statesmen when they hastened to adopt as their own President Wilson's declaration on this point. They thus arrived at what amounts to an unanimous declaration of independence for oppressed nations desiring to be free; wrenched them from the category of domestic problems in which tyrants strive to keep them, and made them urgent matter of international law, Poland being expressly named by Mr. Wilson

as an example of such a nation. If intensity and duration of oppression determine the degree of urgency in applying this sovereign remedy, the claim of Poland for independence, sufficient though it is, is neither so strong nor so urgent as the claim of Ireland. Mr. Wilson may have named Poland as a moderate example, and omitted Ireland as being an extreme example of the oppression that justifies international intervention to re-establish the independence of the nation oppressed. A very brief comparison of Ireland's case with that of Poland will prevent the drawing of any unwarranted inference from the mention of Poland and the omission of Ireland. If Poland is entitled to independence though, while nationally submerged, no sustained policy of deliberate brutalization was pursued against her people, and they were not deprived of their property, their religion, their civilization, their language, their literature, their education, their national and local institutions, their national characteristics, the web and woof of their society, their history, their knowledge of what their nation had been, and was prevented from being; then Ireland, against whose people all these outrages have been systematically committed, must be a stronger and more urgent claimant for independence. If Poland is entitled to independence, though, while nationally submerged, the State submerging her has not calumniated the character of her people in other countries, and has not prevented them making their condition and aspirations known among the nations; then it follows from England having done these things to Ireland, and still continuing to do them, that Ireland's claim to independence is stronger and more urgent than that of Poland. If Poland is entitled to independence though, while nationally submerged, she has prospered economically, Ireland, which, while submerged, has, by design and contrivance of her oppressor, decayed economically, has obviously suffered greater oppression, and is therefore more strongly entitled and in more urgent need of independence. If the well-known prosperity of Poland under foreign rule does not weaken her claim to national independence, the decay of Ireland in consequence of foreign rule must strengthen her claim. If Poland is entitled to independence though, while nationally submerged, her trade and industries flourished, Ireland, in which, while submerged, trade and industries have been deliberately strangled and destroyed, as we have seen, in the interests of England, has a stronger right and a more urgent claim to independence. If Poland is entitled to independence though, while nationally submerged, her population has doubled, it follows that the English policy of exterminating the Irish nation, of which the reduction to one-half within the last seventy years of direct English rule is the latest evidence, makes independence, while important for Poland, vital for Ireland. If Poland is entitled to independence though her national submergence has been materially beneficial to her, on what grounds could national inde-

pendence be withheld from Ireland to whom subjection is destructive to the point of extinction? If Poland is entitled to independence because nationally submerged and oppressed for little more than a century, it follows that Ireland's claim must be stronger and more urgent, she having been much more tyrannically oppressed for four times that period. Ireland's claim is in strict accordance with President Wilson's idea, adopted by the Allies, that foreign rule is the comprehensive evil comprising every other; that whether it be in some cases more or less good in detail is a secondary consideration; and it is in that sense, and to emphasize the urgency, we bring any details under review.

On all of the grounds submitted, Ireland now claims

SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE

comprising the rights and powers

Of designing, framing, and establishing an Irish national constitution;

Of territorial inviolability, including islands and territorial waters as internationally recognized;

Of self-preservation by prevention of, defense against, and resistance to, economic or military hostility, war or peace, as self-preservation may demand;

Of free development of national resources by internal action, and by commerce, treaties, and relations with other States;

Of absolute control and jurisdiction over all persons, things and rights within Ireland and its islands and territorial waters;

Of protection of her lawful citizens wherever situated; and

Of recognition of her government and her flag, and the external marks of honor and respect.

Ireland's subsidiary claims, for restitution of money unjustly and tyrannically abstracted and for reparation of wilful damage wantonly inflicted, like the claims of other countries after a prolonged and devastating struggle, now await settlement, in accordance with international law and justice as applied to the ascertained facts. Such a settlement being regarded as just between nations that have been engaged in mutual war, under the laws of civilized warfare, is more essentially just between nations, one of which, fully armed, makes upon the other, which it has disarmed, continual uncivilized war in what the dominant nation calls a time of peace, and treats the other as a victim nation by plunder, extirpation, wilful destruction of her institutions, industries and trade;

wilful neglect of her material development after having stripped her of means of self-help, and with consequent decay and diminution of population. On the financial part of our subsidiary claim no doubt or difficulty can arise, because, as shown in the section dealing with that subject, the amount has been ascertained by British financial experts, namely, the excessive taxation of Ireland since 1800—£400,000,000. The other material damage, direct and consequential, is only partially reparable, because the past cannot be recalled. As it is obviously much larger than the taxes, justice entitles Ireland to a much larger sum in respect of it; and no nation or assembly of nations can require Ireland to be satisfied with less than justice. But if it should contribute to the world's peace, Ireland would, in consideration of an international guarantee for her future security, accept very much less. The only way in which the damage can be even partially repaired is by Ireland herself undertaking the task of reconstruction and working to recover and properly protect her due position in the modern world of which England has deprived her. To do this within reasonable time will require an immediate expenditure of a very large sum of money. This being the consequence of England's treatment of Ireland, England has no defense whatever against the claim, and must consider herself extremely well treated if Ireland accept from her what is absolutely essential for the purpose. In these circumstances what we claim, and ask international support in obtaining, is such a reduced sum as will enable us to begin at once the great and urgent task of reconstruction on which we are about to enter as a free people. The least that would enable us to do this is the £400,000,000 in respect of excessive taxation, plus a small fraction of what is our due in respect of other damage, say £100,000,000, making £500,000,000 in all. With an international guarantee that Ireland's independence will in future be respected, Ireland would accept this sum.

Some light is thrown on the difficulties which workers for freedom encounter, and on the cause of imperfections in this Statement by the fact that all the members of a small Committee appointed by the Sinn Fein Council to draft the Statement of Ireland's case for submission to that Council are now political prisoners in so many of England's separate prisons, without possibility of communicating with each other, or access to any library, or consultation for the purpose of a joint draft, the preparation of

any statement of the kind being tantamount to high treason; and all the principal members of the council being similarly in isolated custody. This renders the preparation of one joint and finished statement, and its revision by the Council, impossible. It almost renders the preparation of any statement impossible. The present Statement is probably one of a number, all prepared in isolation under great difficulties. It is hoped that, in view of these circumstances, and having regard to the relevant substance rather than to the art of presentation, the Peace Congress will be so considerate as to give due weight to what is substantial and relevant, wherever it appears, and to accept oral explanation or elucidation from Ireland's representatives in the Congress.

Sophistries with which it may be attempted to combat Ireland's case, and which have to be guarded against will probably include some sly version of the superiority of militarist imperialism to nationalism. Imperialism is by its nature militarist; so much so, that a League of Nations, consisting of, or dominated by, what are called the "Great Powers" would be in effect a league against nations and against liberty. It would be a cruel mockery of nations not physically powerful, unless the full equality of nations, irrespective of size, were first definitely recognized by all. As President Wilson says: "The whole Family of Nations will have to guarantee to each nation that no nation shall violate its independence or its territorial integrity. That is the basis—the only conceivable basis—for the future peace of the world." The struggle of which Ireland's case is the most acute example is one between imperialism and nationality, between militarism and democracy. Our whole case, and most, if not all, of the difficult business of the Peace Congress are due to imperialism. The feeling a conglomerate empire engenders is neither patriotism, nor taste, nor art, nor anything ideal or spiritual, but dominance, power, aggression, destruction, brutalization; an antithesis of patriotism; a feeling that scarcely dares to find frank expression among enlightened people, but is pregnant with danger to mankind. This will probably appear in the contrast between this Statement and England's objections to it. One objection may be that the prolonged agony for which we arraign England is an exclusively domestic matter, just as the slave-owners of the Southern States of America pleaded. If the victimization of a country by a government which refuses to acknowledge any responsibility to that country were not an international concern, international law would be stripped of its primary and fundamental function and reduced to international anarchy. Another objection may be that the torture is now long past. England herself refutes this by the argument of facts, by maintaining permanently in Ireland a large Army of Occupation, martial law and other coercive laws in operation, the best lands unproductive in England's interest, the finest harbors empty in England's interest, the country decaying in

England's interest, the population diminishing in England's interest, some 300 of the most loved and trusted Irish men and women living now locked up as political prisoners, without trial, in England's interest. While that state of tyranny, if not of war, continues, as now, living and active, to say that the torture is long past, or past at all, is to trifle with the Congress by setting empty words against facts. Though England has not tried those prisoners on any charge, she does not hesitate to tell the world that they are "felons". The Irish people reply by honoring them as "felons," just as the Saxons of England adopted "outlaw" as a title of honor under William the Conqueror. That being the normal condition of Ireland under English rule, we submit that it is not in accordance with international law and the interests of peace. The agony of subjection being, then, in continuance, and England's fight being clearly a fight against nature, we cannot believe that the Congress will tacitly concur in the prolongation of the unnatural and blighting connection of the two countries. Small nations have, on the foregoing and on many other grounds, a stronger claim than empires upon a body administering international law. They naturally respect the law because it is law, and because they are unable to defend themselves without it. On the other hand, they have more endurance than conglomerate empires, because they draw their vitality from a natural, not an artificial source. Their career also is oftentimes more distinguished. Civilization, religion, philosophy, arts, sciences, refinements, things of mind and heart and taste have had their origin and home in small States rather than in great empires. Imperial tyranny may succeed in crushing a small nation out of existence, and that result may be agreeable to the imperialist. It is, none the less, an international crime, and a distinct loss to the sweetness and amenity of life, and may be so felt for ages after. It is a savage joy, that of crushing a people superior to the crusher in all respects save that of power. Apart from religion, one's own nation furnishes the purest and most elevating object of love and service, a perennial joy, a radiant, graceful and beneficent presence, a genial friend who never grows stale, upon whom love and service are never wasted—least of all wasted when the imperialist provides a gibbet as their reward. For the outcome of imperialism we have only to look at the war-torn world, and realize how much love and gratitude we owe to our own small nation that has proved herself possessed of the highest form of greatness by preserving her spiritual individuality, by filling her children with ambitions essentially healing, which when successful are so many blessings, and when unsuccessful leave no trace of harm or asperity. The war has shown that there is a powerful spirit of evil abroad. Ireland, in spite of her modern history, teaches us that there is also a spirit of good, if not abroad, at least in existence and available to the worthy. If, as we know, some of the minutest things in

nature contribute towards universal beauty, and even towards utility as well; if, as we know, benefits have flown to mankind from the unsubstantial sentiment of patriotism; if, as we know, England with all its imperial power has failed to extinguish that sentiment in Ireland, it may be pardonable presumption on our part to hope that through the gracious and just recognition of the sovereign *status* of Ireland by this International Peace Congress, we Irish may be helpful towards attaining and securing that era of peace which the world so much needs and releasing the Spirit of Good for the happiness of all.

Written and now finished in this cell in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin,
15th July, 1918, by

LAURENCE GINNELL,
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INDEX

	Page		Page
Absentee Tax	51	Essex, Earl of.....	121
Adams, John Quincy.....	123	Eriugena	27, 28
Addison	108	Extermination, Policy of...3, 38, et seq.	
Armagh, University of.....	4, 26		
Aptitude for Industries.....	4, 58	Famine, State-Created	51, 54, 55, 56
Arms, Claim Arising from.....	30	Financial Relations	73
Art, Textile	30	Financial Strength	4, 71
		Fitness of Ireland.....	5, 76
Bagdad. Proclamation at.....	87	Fox, J. A.....	112
Beaumont, Gustave de.....	53	Freedom of the Seas.....	7, 99
Bede, Venerable	26	Fronde, James Anthony...42, 51, 62, 106	
Brehon Laws	39		
Bribery	45, 46, 112, et seq.	Gaelic Polity	17
British Liberty	33	Gall, St.	27
Bruce, Edward	19	Genesis of This Statement.....	127, 128
Burke, Edmund	23, 71, 77, 99	Glass Manufacture	67
		Godkin	44, 47
Campbell, Wm.	64, 67	Green, Mrs.	30
Carew, Sir George.....	42	Grotius	24, 101, 102
Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant.....	111		
Cattle Trade	58	Hague Convention	15, 93
Cecil, Lord Robert.....	87	Hamburg-Amerika Company	69
Charles the Bald.....	27	Haverty	106
Charles I.	45	Haurean	28
Charles II.	49, 62	Henry II.	20, 38
Charlemagne	26	Henry VIII.	19, 20, 38
Citizen Army	93	Historical Title	1, 16
Civilization	17, 25, 90, 96, 97	Hollinshed	41
Clonmacnoise	26		
Colonial Parliament	63, 64	Identity	120
Columbanus	27	Independence Defined	9, 10, 126
Confiscation	39, et seq.	Inherent Title	2, 32
Connaught, Composition of.....	43	Insurrection, Right of.....	6, 86
Constitutional title	2, 118	Intervention	120
Continuity of English Policy.....	2, 118	Ireland's Claim	9, 10, 126, 127
Constance, Council of.....	19, 113	Ireland Equipped	5, 76
Cornwallis, Lord	24	Ireland's Purposes	7, 95
Cosby	41	Isolation of Ireland.....	7, 8, 99, 100, 101
Corruption	109, et seq.		
Cotton Industry	67	James I.	22, 44
Crommelin	65	James II.	22
Cromwell	46		
		Kilkenny, Statute of.....	18
Defamation, Policy of.....	33, 120	Kilkenny, Confederation of.....	22
Davis, Thomas	103	King, Bishop of Derry.....	108
Disraeli (Beaconsfield)	53	Kinsale, Battle of.....	21
Divide and Rule.....	5, 6, 89		
Dufferin, Lord	105	Lavelle, Father	56
		Lecky	52, 60, 63, 106, 112, 113
Elizabeth	20, 36, 51	Linen Industry	65
England's Infidelity	14	Loyalty to Ireland.....	1, 16, 21, 24
England's Sinister Silence.....	101	Loyalty, Mercenary	112, 113
England's Unfitness	8, 103	Lynch, Dr. John.....	29, 116

INDEX—Continued

	Page		Page
Macauley, Lord	77	Seas, Freedom of.....	7, 99
Manpower	3, 38, 57	Self-Preservation	6, 82
Mill, John Stuart.....	69	Slavery, Sold Into.....	49
Mitchel, John	55	Sovereign Independence	9, 126
Moryson, Fynes	42	Spenser, Herbert	36
Mullaghmast, Massacre of.....	41	Spenser, Edmund	30, 42
Murray, Miss	105	Strafford	21, 45
National Identity	120	Stuarts	21
Norsemen	16	Sullivan, A. M.....	55
Norway	122	Swift, Dean	23, 109
O'Moore, Roger	22	Sydney, Sir Henry.....	40
O'Moore's, Massacre of.....	40, 41	Tangler	117
O'Neill, Donal	19	Taxation	71, et seq.
O'Neill, Hugh	21	"Times" Newspaper	54, 57
O'Neill, Owen Roe.....	21	Tithes	59, 60
O'Neill, Sean	20, 40	Tolerance of Irish.....	106
O'Neill, Daunt	74	Thierry, Augustine	26, 79
Oppenheim	121	Tone, Theobald Wolfe.....	23, 96
Parliament, A Subordinate.....	103, et seq., 117	Tudors	30, 35
Peace Congress	1, 11	Unfitness of England to Rule Ireland..	8, 103
Pensions	108, 109	Unfitness of England to Adjudicate on	
Perrot, Sir John.....	43, 46	Ireland	12, 13, 14, 15
Phillimore	121	Union, Act of.....	112, et seq.
Plantation of Ulster.....	44	Vere, Aubrey de.....	69
Poland	124, 125, 126	Victim Country	56
Population	3, 38, et seq., 57	Victoria	56
Portugal	128	Volunteers of 18th Century.....	79
Prendergast	48	Volunteers of 20th Century.....	93
Provision Trade	59	William of Orange.....	23, 50, 62, 65
Purposes, Ireland's	7, 95	Wilson, President	121, 126
Recognition	9, 91, 120, 123	Woolen Industry	61
Renunciation Act	104	Young, Arthur	57
Restitution, Amount of.....	12, 127	Zimmer, Heinrich	28
Roussetot	28		
Russell, Lord John.....	55		



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